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OF THE
ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY THE

REV. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D.

HISTORIOGRAPHER TO THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF SCOTLAND, FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES, COPEN-
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PREFACE.

DURING the past year the Society has entered into communication, and arranged the interchange of *Transactions*, with several of the principal Historical Societies of Europe, America and Australasia. A library-room has been secured in the commodious premises of Dr Williams' Library in Grafton Street, and a catalogue of books printed. The Genealogical section of the Society has produced "Genealogical Memoirs of the Family of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., with a reprint of his Memorials of the Haliburtons;" also "Genealogical Memoirs of the Family of Burnes or Burns," represented by the poet, Robert Burns. Arrangements are in progress whereby a course of lectures on history will be delivered in London annually under the Society's auspices. When the last volume of *Transactions* was issued in December 1876 the Society numbered 525 members. The Fellows at present on the roll are 556.

CHARLES ROGERS,

Historiographer.

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October 1877.

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TRANSACTIONS
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ON THE EPOCH OF HITTITE, KHITA, HAMATH,
CANAANITE, LYDIAN, ETRUSCAN, PERU-
VIAN, MEXICAN, ETC.

By HYDE CLARKE, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.H.S., F.S.S.,
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eers of Vienna; Vice-President of the Society of Arts, etc.

THE Book of Generations, in chap. x. of Genesis, states that Canaan was a son of Ham, and consequently brother of Cush, of Mizraim, and of Phut. This is given again in the First Book of Chronicles, chap. i., ver. 8. Cush (Gen. x. 10) held Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. The verse says: "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel and Erech," etc. Again, verse 11 says: "Out of that land went forth Asshur and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city." Asshur (verse 22) was a son of Shem. Cush, therefore, was considered to be a dweller in Baby-
lonia, and not in Africa. This is consistent with Havilah, son of Cush, being Havilah, chap. ii., ver. 11. Of the rivers of Eden, "the name of the first is Pison, that is it which encompasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold." Khavilah

has been well conjectured to be Kholkis or Colchis, and the river the Pshani, which, as I have pointed out in the Georgian languages, still means a river.

The interpretation with regard to Cush is, that he was one of the occupants of the great central kingdom, which included Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, and which was afterwards occupied by Asshur, who issued forth from thence to make his campaigns in the west. Gen. x. 15, goes on to say: "And Canaan begat Sidon, his firstborn, and Heth [the Hittite], and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite; and afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad." The Horite was a Canaanite (Gen. xxxvi. 2).

These people were closely related, politically, and probably ethnologically and linguistically, and as one or other took the leadership, so would its name be adopted to signify the whole league, as Hittite, Hamathite, Horite, in the same way as among the Germani, English, Saxons, Germans, Warings, etc.

These Canaanites were politically connected with the other members of the family of Ham, who are recognised as holding Western Asia. The Hittites, adopting the compendious account of Dr W. Smith, are the descendants of Heth or Cheth, the second son of Canaan. The notices in the Bible give us but scanty notion of their power, but the Egyptian annals tell us of a very powerful confederacy of the Hittites on the Orontes, with whom Sether I., or Sethos, fought about B.C. 1340, and whose capital, Ketesh, near Emesa, he captured. In the Egyptian annals the name of Heth is said to stand for Palestine.

Mr George Smith gave, in the *Journal of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, for October 1872, an account of notices of Palestine in the cuneiform inscriptions. After referring to the invasions of Sargon in the sixteenth century B.C., he found no records until the time of Tiglath Pileser I., about B.C. 1120. He reigned about the time of Eli, judge of Israel. He defeated some tribes of the Hittites, and captured the city

of Carchemish, which has so lately been explored by Mr Smith, and the remains of which are justly regarded as of so much importance.

About B.C. 870 Assur-nazir-pal marched into Syria, crossed the Euphrates near Carchemish, and Sagara, king of Carchemish, paid him tribute. After five years of war, Shalmaneser, B.C. 854, advanced into Hamath, destroying the country and ravaging the towns. His advance was resisted by a league of kings of Syria and Palestine, under Benhadad of Damascus, whose armies included 14,000 men under Irhulena of Hamath. The battle took place on the banks of the Orontes, and it checked the march of Shalmaneser. This was followed, however, by other inroads down to B.C. 846. In B.C. 842 Shalmaneser was more fortunate, and compelled King Jehu and the kings of Tyre, Zidon, and others, to give him tribute. The successors of Shalmaneser carried on frequent wars in Syria. Tiglath Pileser, B.C. 743, imposed a tribute on the king of Hamath. In 740 he attacked the city of Hamath. The people obtained the assistance of Azariah, king of Judah, but were defeated, and a large part of their country was annexed to Assyria. Hamath is a city on the river Orontes, in Syria, on the northern border of the Promised Land. It is mentioned at the time of the Exodus as one of the kingdoms, and was an original seat of the Canaanites (Gen. x. 18). Its king, Toi, yielded allegiance to King David (2 Sam. viii. 9). Solomon built stone cities in Hamath (2 Chron. viii. 4). Palmyra was one of those cities, it is said. By the prophet Amos it was called "great," and in 2 Kings xvii. 34, it is spoken of by an Assyrian king as one of the chief of his conquests. It still has a population of 30,000.

The Hamath inscriptions appear to have been first noticed as early as 1812 by Burckhardt ("Travels in Syria," p. 145, quoted by Burton, "Unexplored Syria," pp. 138, 333). He says of them: "In the corner of a house, in the bazar, is a stone with a number of small figures and signs, which appear to be a kind of hieroglyphical writing, though it does not resemble that of Egypt." So, too, it turns out that a Hamath

inscription had been previously seen in the south-eastern region of Asia Minor. It was in the same bazar of Hamath that, in 1870, Mr J. Augustus Johnson, the U.S. Consul-General, and the Rev. S. Jessup, of the Syrian Mission, came upon a stone in the corner of a house, which contained an inscription in unknown characters, as Burckhardt had done. They did not succeed in getting squeeze impressions, for fanatical Moslems crowded upon them when they began to work upon the stone, and they were obliged to be content with such copies of this and other inscriptions subsequently found on stones over and near the city gate, and in the ancient bridge which spans the Orontes, as could be obtained by the aid of a native painter. Mr Jessup endeavoured to purchase a blue stone, containing two lines of these strange characters, but failed to obtain it because of the tradition connected with, and the income derived from it. Deformed persons were willing to pay for the privilege of lying upon it, in the hope of a speedy cure, and it was believed to be efficacious in spinal diseases.

Such was the discovery of these remarkable inscriptions, and in such imperfect form did they come before the scholars of Europe and America. Mr Johnson, like many others, was of opinion the characters were allied to the hieroglyphic. Professor E. H. Palmer saw the copies in the possession of Mr Johnson at Beyrout, and he was so persuaded of their archæological importance that he induced the committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund to send Mr Tyrwhitt Drake to Syria in 1870 to obtain squeeze impressions and photographs of the inscriptions. Professor Palmer, concurrently with myself, engaged in their decipherment, but without success, as he informed me.

Between 28th February and 5th March 1871, Captain R. F. Burton visited Hamah or Hamath ("Unexplored Syria," p. 333), and at the request of Mr Walter Besant, secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, proceeded to inspect the inscriptions.

Herr Petermann published some details concerning the

inscriptions in the *Athenæum* (No. 2267) of April 8, 1871 (Burton). In 1871 Mr Tyrwhitt Drake succeeded in getting good squeezes and photographs. The latter I found of little use. Mr Tyrwhitt Drake found an inscription in Aleppo. The material of the Hamath stones is compact black basalt (Burton), polished as if by hard rubbing. The characters are in cameo, raised from two to four lines, separated by horizontal framings, also in relief. They are sharply and well cut. Mr R. Biddulph Martin confirmed this from inspection in the Museum of the Seraglio at Constantinople, when removed. "The first thing," says Captain Burton, "which strikes the observer is, that they must date from the metal ages, and that they are the work of a civilised race."

Minute descriptions of the first found stones are given in "Unexplored Syria."

Captain Burton thought that the Wusum or marks of the Bedawi clans might lead to the decipherment. Although I think it quite possible that some of the signs may be found among the Bedawi, it is not to be expected that such would afford any key to the meaning. The range of the Hamath characters includes not only the kingdom of the Khita, Khita or Khatti at Hamath and Helbon (Aleppo), but the inscriptions referred to at Ibreez in Lycaonia, and many relics in Babylonia, as the marks identified by me in the plates of Loftus, and the five seals discovered by Mr Layard in the record chamber of the palace of Sennacherib.

With regard to the statues at Nymphæ and the Ephesus road, Herodotus, as we now know, erroneously attributed them to Sesostris, and affirmed that they bore inscriptions in hieroglyphics, which they did not. It appears to me not impossible that these inscriptions were in Hamath or Khita character. This character has been already traced in Lycaonia; and it bears an actual resemblance to hieroglyphics in its features and dispositions, so much so that on the rediscovery of the Hamath inscriptions, Dunbar Heath and others were led to class them as Egyptian. There is generally some foundation even for a mistake of Herodotus.

It may be remarked that the statue *in situ* is of such friable materials, being cut in the rock, that I have declared, after careful examination, that it never bore an inscription. With regard to the other mutilated statue, rediscovered by Mr Spiegelthal in 1866, it is on a slab cast down, and it must be of very different material from the others. Therefore, it occurs to me that one statue may have borne an inscription in Hamathite. This is of interest in reference to the extension of Khita and the relations. I long since stated it to have relations with Cypriote, Libyan, Himyaritic, and Hebrew.

The test first applied by me roughly, as stated, was the simple statistical or numerical method of counting the signs; and this, having obtained the transcripts from Captain Burton, I repeated more carefully after a better knowledge of the inscriptions from study. The number of signs in the five inscriptions is about 300, and these are thus decomposed, allowing for the best classification our present imperfect knowledge allows, and using the most convenient type-symbols :

Ø, 27; ÷, 26; ○ and C, 24; 3, 21; L, 18; ‡ 15; l, 11; ll, 11; ▽ (crossed), 11; O, 9; lL, 8; ▽, 7; knife form, 7; Σ (exclusive of double letters), 7; 3, 5; 3, 4.

Then there are many which cannot be represented by symbols. These may be subdivided into

Single characters, frequently used,	. 33
Double letters, etc., . . . .	. 5
Characters used once, each, . . . .	. 15

The question then presented itself, What is the character of these signs so distributed? and undoubtedly they answered to the general nature of an alphabet or syllabarium, although we can be by no means assured. The other solutions that were proposed were that the signs are ideographic records or lists of the cattle marks and brands of Arab tribes (Captain Burton). Although some of the marks are used as brands, yet the whole composition does not answer to either description. On any liberal interpretation of them as ideographs, the types are not sufficient to afford any record of war and peace. If we allow them to include a register of cattle brands,

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then we want signs to indicate the names of the proprietary tribes or individuals, which, after all, would bring us again to some kind of record of words, and thereby to the solution that they are written signs.

Accepting the hypothesis of characters representing sounds as that most probable, and as deserving of further investigation, the next point is whether they belong to a limited alphabet of letters or to a system of syllabic characters. The number of about fifty types would admit of a syllabic system.

The general nature of the inscriptions on inspection is this: we have a variety of single signs, many of which are recurrent; we have some apparent ideographs; and we have a number of flourishes. These flourishes, however, are not made with a brush or pen casually, but cut in hard stone designedly.

It is permissible to consider that some of these flourishes may consist of several characters joined together. One group can be recognised so tied together, and also in its separate members. In the similar or seemingly allied alphabets, ligatures, monograms, and double letters are known to have existed, or to exist. The elements are consequently to be distributed as

Characters,
Ligatures, and
Ideographs (real or supposed).

This is the gross result at which we must arrive from inspection under the numerical method, an approved process for scientific investigation.

The next mode of examination is by comparison with alphabets. The Phœnician or Cadmean used in the Hamath district does not correspond. The Himyaritic used in the same region does offer some similitude, so does the Cypriote. The cuneiform also shows correspondence. The Himyaritic or Sabæan character is chiefly known from the inscriptions found near our town of Aden in Arabia, and from the inscriptions at Axum in Abyssinia. Himyaritic inscriptions have also been found in Mesopotamia or Babylonia; and there are characters on gems from Babylonia, supposed to be Himyaritic.

The characters on these gems, and on the bricks from Warka, have a resemblance to the Hamath. The Himyaritic character was represented in Ethiopia or Abyssinia by the Ethiopic, and is still represented by the Amharic or Abyssinian alphabet. A Sabæan grammar is given by Captain Prideaux (*Trans. Biblio. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v.).

Many Himyaritic inscriptions are in the British Museum, and a large collection has been published by the authorities of that institution under the direction of Dr Samuel Birch and Mr A. W. Franks. These have been deciphered by the late Dr M. A. Levy of Breslau in the *Transactions* of the German Oriental Society. These inscriptions are generally in lines or divided by bands like the Hamath inscriptions, but the lines are of single characters, whereas in the Hamath there are rows of characters unsymmetrically set out. The Himyaritic characters are read from right to left. In one inscription there is a monogram (B. Mus., plate i., No. 1), undeciphered by Osiander and Dr Levy. In two inscriptions there are hands. We find hands in No. 5 Hamath inscription, the hands being in each case displayed; but in the case of the Himyaritic inscription, the hands are outside the inscription, and in pairs. These Himyaritic inscriptions (B. Mus., plate vii., No. 11, and plate vii., No. 8) are dedicated to Almakah and Baal. Almakah I regard as equivalent to Moloch. They form the same sign as the blessing of the Cohenim among the Jews.

The main characters which correspond in Hamath and Himyaritic are:

Characters symbolised.							Power in Himyaritic or Amharic.	
⋈		
⋈	.	.	.	.	.	.	Stop.	
⋈	.	.	.	.	.	.	ע	O
⋈	.	.	.	.	.	.	ו	V
⋈	.	.	.	.	.	.	ב	B
⋈	.	.	.	.	.	.	ש	SH
⋈	.	.	.	.	.	.	ל	L
⋈	.	.	.	.	.	.	מ	M

Besides these there are equivalents of א, ב, ג, ד, ה, and ו.

The comparison with Cypriote suggests many more points of comparison, because in Cypriote there are arrow-headed or dart-headed characters, as in Hamath. Again we find א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, ט, י, etc. Of the influence of Hamath on Cypriote, as pointed out by me, no doubt at present exists, and every observer has confirmed it. As we have the syllabic sounds for some of the Cypriote signs, this ought to give us some help towards the sounds in Hamath, but as yet it does not. There is every appearance that in Hamath and in Cypriote the signs had a different value, as they had in Hebrew. Aleph, Yod, Caph, Ayin, and Wau can never have been the original values for the letters, the variant forms of which, no less than other circumstances, throw light on their real meaning.

The Cypriote that we have at present is an Aryan adaptation, but we may yet find Cypriote characters with a language allied to Khita. Cypriote shows no less than Libyan and other Western languages that an alphabet passed out first from a Khita source to the west, and that it was afterwards largely modified by Phœnician variants. The words in Cypriote are divided by stops. Many of the characters appear to be double letters, as in Hamath. Some of the inscriptions are read from right to left, but some appear to suggest a former arrangement from top to bottom.

Bricks were brought home by Mr Loftus from Warka, in Babylonia ("Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana," London, 1859, p. 169), which bear peculiar characters. These have been supposed to be the rude and earliest form of cuneiform, and have accordingly been converted into cuneiform inscriptions, or accompanied by cuneiform renderings, and translations have been published. The Warka characters or hieratic, however, bear a resemblance to the Hamath and the Cypriote, more particularly to the former. The Warka inscription, if compared with Hamath No. 2, middle line, has this remarkable peculiarity. It also begins with א, and has in its neighbourhood, next to it, א with a staff, again very

near it is = also. The same are found in No. 3 Hamath, second line. Characters nearly similar are found in the beginning or lowest line of No. 5 Hamath. This formula is found under a variant in each Hamath inscription. In the Warka we find a square reticulated or covered with cross lines; in Hamath Δ with the staff so treated in Nos. 2 and 5.

An inscription at Abydos, in Egypt (*Journal de la Société Asiatique*, series vi., vol. ii., 1868, No. 14), apparently bilingual, is for one portion allied in character to Warka and Cypriote. With Lycian there is a great conformity, the number of characters showing a correspondence with Hamath being nearly a score. They include :

V, A, L or T, I, O, ∇ or Δ , F, W, Z, S, \square , E, Γ .

There are two remarkable alphabets in use in Albania, and which are to be found in Dr Von Habn's "Albanesische Studien" (Jena, 1854). At p. 280 is the long alphabet, and at p. 297 is a short alphabet. These are modern Albanian or Skipetar alphabets. Dr Von Habn has devoted much attention to the larger alphabet, considering that many of the elements of it are ancient. Of its fifty-two characters many, however, are evidently modern adaptations, but from independent investigation I concur with my friend Dr Von Habn, that many are independent representations of ancient characters.

The Albanians are, in a general sense, an unlettered people, but there is no more difficulty in believing that they have preserved ancient letters than there is in accrediting, what admits of no doubt, the preservation, in a modified form, of the Libyan alphabet by the Berber tribes, which, like those of the Albanians, are unlettered. The Berber alphabet has undergone similar modifications to the Albanian, and particularly in the application of double letters and special sounds.

The peculiarities of the Albanian alphabets are so striking that a German savant in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft," published an essay on an attempt to decipher the Lycian inscriptions by means of the

Albanian alphabet and languages. This does not appear to be successful any more than that of interpreting Lycian, Etruscan, etc., by means of Armenian. The first point with regard to Lycian is to ascertain what the language is, for even supposing the transliterations we have to be serviceable, it does not follow that the Lycian language is an Indo-European language, notwithstanding the supposed genitives, because those genitives may be Caucasian. It does not follow because the modern Albanian alphabet has a resemblance to the Lycian that the powers of the modern Albanian alphabet are the same as those of the ancient Albanian. Still less does it follow, because there is a resemblance between some of the letters, that the Albanian language has any connection with the Lycian. It may be noted that the Albanian grammar shows many traces of resemblance to Caucasian.

The reason that we have already found so many points of resemblances in these alphabets is, that one race ruled and one political language was at one time employed in the several regions anterior to the Indo-European, and for this reason the supposed Phœnician or Cadmean influence is not sufficient to account for the phenomena.

With regard to Hamath and Albanian the resemblances are few. They include :

V or Λ, I, O, Φ or Θ, C or Q, 8 or 8.

There are several points worthy of study in the Celtiberian characters, but I have not been able to collate the materials.

The Etruscan also presents points of resemblance to Hamath, where it diverges from the Phœnician. The words, numerals, and case-endings of Etruscan, which have been preserved, are susceptible of explanations from the Khita-Peruvian group.

The Himyaritic characters having been referred to, and their employment in Ethiopia or Abyssinia, it is to be observed that Professor F. W. Newman, in his Berber studies long since, and Dr Judas of Paris, in his special studies of Libyan, made known points of resemblance between the grammars and alphabets of the respective districts.

The chief monument we have in Libyan is the Thugga Stone in the British Museum, a remarkable bilingual monument, from Thugga, near Tunis, in Phœnician and Libyan, but which has never been published by the Museum authorities. It has, however, appeared several times in print, as in Gesenius, the best copy being that published by Dr A. C. Judas, from a squeeze supplied to him by Dr Samuel Birch. There are also many Libyan inscriptions from Algeria, some with a Latin text published by the Academy of Constantine, or in the *Revue Africaine*, and commented upon by Dr Judas, Dr Reboud, etc. There is great diversity of opinion as to the value of the letters and the meaning of the inscriptions, the latest doctrines of the French school being that Libyan is to be interpreted by the Berber alphabets.

This is a very natural proposition, as the Berber alphabets, well exemplified in the Tamashek, in the grammar of that language by Colonel Hanoteau, show evidence of descent from the Libyan.

It does not follow that the Thugga inscription admits of interpretation by Berber, although it is possible some of the inscriptions of the Roman period are of Berber affinity. In the Thugga inscription we find two languages, one of the conquering Phœnicians or Carthaginians. The other language may be that of the aborigines, the Berbers, but it may be that of a former dominant race. Semitic influence certainly prevailed in North Africa, for it is proved by the family of what are called the Subsemitic languages, showing an abiding influence, testified to by the Himyaritic, and continued by the extension of the Arabic language even to the shores of the Atlantic. There are, however, ancient geographical names to be found in North Africa, which conform to the general geographical nomenclature of the ancient world, and which are consequently not Phœnician, and many of the names assumed to be Phœnician very probably do not belong to that class.

What the Libyan language was will much depend on the determination of the genitive in the genealogical portions of

the Hamath and Thugga inscriptions. Dr Judas takes this to be N in Thugga, and to be Berber.

The Thugga inscription is in single lines, and reads from right to left from the top, but there is some reason to believe that this is a special arrangement, consequent on the attempt to translate line for line the Phœnician, which is so arranged. Dr Judas has proposed, with reason, to read the Algerine Libyan inscriptions from bottom to top in columns, beginning at the right.

The Thugga and Libyan characters which show a resemblance to Hamath are nearly twenty, and include :

V, I, O, Φ or Θ, Ϝ, ϝ, Ϟ, ϟ, Ϡ, ϡ, IL, Z.

It is very questionable whether the letters of the Thugga inscription are in the right position.

The Thugga inscription we know begins with a genealogy, and it was by means of this Gesenius discovered the symbol for son, which is =. This is the symbol we find in Hamath and in Warka, in a similar position, but in Hamath it is IIII. Each word is divided by a stop. The character II within another II, I consider to be a double letter. The Algerine inscriptions furnish us with some additional characters. Of the Kabyle or Tamashek modern alphabets we have three forms given by Colonel Hanoteau. These alphabets do not agree with each other, nor are they wholly Libyan. They consist partly of a system of dots.

To show its peculiarities the following are examples :

B or V is represented by Θ		
G	"	×
D	"	Λ, A
R	"	O, ϝ
T	"	Э
F	"] [
S	"	⊙
L	"	II
M	"	ϡ
N	"	I
T	"	+

There are various double letters formed with + (T) final. The

only one that can be represented is for I + (Nt) †, for II + (Lt) we have H with a cross bar, for St a circle O with a cross + enclosed. The materials we may consider available for comparison with the Hamath inscriptions are :

Himyaritic alphabet and inscriptions.
 Ethiopic " "
 Amharic or Abyssinian alphabet and inscriptions.
 Warka inscriptions.
 Cypriote "
 Lycian "
 Albanian alphabet.
 Celtiberian inscriptions.
 Libyan "
 Berber.

Of these, we have satisfactory explanations of the Himyaritic inscriptions of Aden, which are in Sabæan, a language allied to the Hebrew.

We have bilingual inscriptions of

Cypriote, in Phœnician and also in Greek.
 Lycian, in Greek.
 Libyan, in Phœnician and also in Latin.

It is worthy of consideration what relations exist between the Hamath and the square Hebrew alphabet. The chief forms recognisable are א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, ט, ק, but nothing like a considerable portion of the Hebrew alphabet. In the Hamath, however, and in the Hebrew, as in the Himyaritic and Libyan, square forms are to be found.

If we look at some old alphabets, as Hebrew, Himyaritic, Libyan, Hamath, Etruscan, old Italic, old Greek, Lycian, Cypriote, Albanian, we find such forms as these :

I II = א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט ק
 נ י פ צ כ ל מ נ ס ז ט י ק

and in rounded forms we have such as :

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י ק

Then we have letters with a staff or tail, as in Phœnician and in ρ (P), λ, μ, φ.

The shapes of the square letters suggest that they are parts of a square (perhaps of the square of Orion), thus ∟ ∟ ∟ ∟ are its four angles. ∟, ∟, ∟, ∟ are the three sides of a square in succession. ∟ is ∟, ∟ is ∟ (Daleth) and ∟ (Resh), and ∟ is the Greek Gamma. ∟ is ∟ (He), and ∟ (Cheth, Kheth), in Hebrew, and ∟ (Pi) in Greek. ∟ is Beth in Hebrew. ∟ is Mem and Samech in Hebrew.

The ∟ of the Phœnician, ∟ (Beth) of the Himyaritic and Hebrew, ∟ (Gamma) of the Greek, ∟ (Daleth) of the Hebrew (Δ of the Greek), and ∟ (He) of the Hebrew, are at the beginning of the alphabet in close proximity, and suggest that they belonged to a square, and formed part of a square, thus: ∟ ∟ ∟ ∟.

There is a square alphabet in modern use known as a secret alphabet. It is formed by two lines (=), crossed by two lines (∟), and which, forming a double square, gives nine compartments. Each of these being separated forms a letter. This alphabet may be found in some books on secret writing and cipher, and is a masonic secret alphabet in England, France, etc. It may be founded on the Tau and Orion.

The alphabet is worked from left to right at top:

∟ is A, ∟ is B, ∟ is C, ∟ is D, ∟ is E, ∟ is F, ∟ is G, ∟ is H, ∟ is I.

The characters are then dotted inside or otherwise. ∟ is J, ∟. K, etc. A third series is obtained by marking the characters with three dots (∴).

Rabbis and other Jews likewise use this mystic cross as a secret alphabet, but they begin from right to left at top:

∟ is ∟, ∟ is ∟, ∟ is ∟, ∟ is ∟, ∟ is ∟, ∟ is ∟.

The second series is also obtained by a dot (.), and the third by ∴. This carries out the whole Hebrew alphabet, including the final letters, and consequently provides the whole Hebrew numerals.

Instead of dotting the first series of nine to make a second

series, there is, however, another modification of the mystic alphabet, which provides for taking the second series from another double cross formed by crossing the two lines transversely. This gives V Λ, etc. These geometrical alphabets are carried back to a more ancient date in the works on white magic, and thence still further back to the most ancient epochs of magic and the Cabbula. They may be termed the Cabalistic geometrical alphabet. The Arab and mediæval literature of magic, white and black, is a continuation of the ancient schools of magic, and preserves their traditions. Some of these are still practised in Moslem cities, from Morocco to the far East; and occasionally characters derived from the cuneiform are employed by a Maghrebi magician in charms to cure a sick child, or to lure back the lover of an Arab or Osmanli girl.

It is the teaching of the Accad and Assyrian schools of Babylon and Chaldæa, which is made orthodox for the Jew by the great names of God, for the Christian by the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, for the Moslem in strict conformity with the potent and ineffable power which the votaries of Islam believe to reside in the form and sound of divine words, and which coerce genii, good and bad. The means to beatitude of one powerful sect of dervishes is the compression in sound of Allah Hoo. The characters are the attributes of divinity, and command the spirit world. Several of the magic alphabets exhibit forms adapting not merely the geometrical characters, but others found in the alphabets we have been discussing. Some of these are now casual, but they may be survivals. We find the * of the Cypriote and Warka, but then a character much like it exists in cuneiform. The great Gelghether magic alphabet presents | A, - B, V ⊥ □, the little Gelghether □ + - | 7 -. The Sabæan magic is most like a true alphabet, for its B is □, its M is M, its S is MM, F is □ crossed, R is V, Th is +. The great and little enchantment give the forms in □□ □□, which we find in Hamath and Warka.

Thus there appears to have been a continuity of the appli-

cation of these Cabalistic forms of a square or double cross (based on the Pleiades or Tau), which was in itself mystical, as it consisted of triads; and there being further three triads, there was, besides the mystic number of three, the great mystic number of nine.

If we take a double cross, and then a transverse double cross, and begin according to the ancient method of Warka, Libyan, and Hamath, we begin at the right, but we begin at the bottom, and not at the top, as the Jews now do. The question may arise whether, having begun at Γ , we should not, according to the Hamath and later Libyan method, work upwards in columns, proceeding to \square and \perp . The Thugga inscription suggests progress horizontally from right to left; and we may return boustrophedon or bull-ploughing in furrows, or as a serpent would wind, as we find on a Hymyaritic altar inscription in the British Museum series. So, too, in the Hamath inscriptions.

In the attribution of sounds and powers to the characters at a most early date, nature-worship exercised a great influence. Thus in cuneiform a star figures as the determinative for a deity. In Chinese, Eye, Sun, Moon, Mouth are allied in character, as we find them philologically in the prehistoric period. In Hebrew we have Aleph, Waw, Yod, Caph, Ayin, Thau. In our own alphabets we have I, O, Φ . In the African languages the hand and foot are male, and the palm of the hand and sole of the foot, female. In mythology we know that the hand is an emblem for man. In Hebrew the alphabet begins with the equivalent of the star, and closes with the Thau, the emblem of the Pleiades.

Upon the grand question of the population of Canaan, Professor Campbell gives us invaluable materials for forming a judgment, in his various and learned papers in the *Canadian Journal*. This population most probably extended into Egypt, where Brugsch Bey has found four hundred parallel names, and in which I look for the "Turanian" element, for Thebes, and the other old names by which Egypt was known to the Greeks, are Sumerian. The intercourse with Caria, too,

long continued. The union of Sumerians with Semites explains the ethnological peculiarities of the Jews, who are evidently a mixed race with two elements.

With the absolute chronology of these successions I do not propose to deal. Three thousand years ago the Sumerian race had come in contact with the Semitic, to which it had to succumb. Seven hundred years later is perhaps to be taken as the epoch of conflict with the Aryan race. This, however, gives us no real instrument of measure. We do not sufficiently know how far the members of the Hamitic classes are to be regarded as synchronous.

Although the Sumerians were assailed by the Semites three thousand years ago, they were only overcome by the Spaniards four hundred years since; and in Indo-China they still flourish. The question, therefore, is not the duration of culture in the form of language, but what are the spaces required for its development?

If the Sumerian settlement in Babylonia took place four thousand years ago (see Ernest de Bunsen, "Chronology of the Bible"), then the settlement in India would be of the same date, if the migration was from a common centre in High Asia, as the division of West and East Sumerian in pronouns, and other details, seems to indicate.

The settlements in Indo-China would shortly follow, and afterwards the occupation of Java and the islands.

It is quite within compass that Peru was reached three thousand years ago, or even four or five thousand. It is to be observed that the Malay occupation of Australasia must have cut off the Sumerian intercourse with America. Then it is to be taken into consideration that if the intercourse had been kept up at a time when large ships were used by the Phœnicians, Chinese, Greeks, Romans, or Arabs, we should have witnessed different conditions. Cattle and horses would have been carried across the Pacific. Had the intercourse from Indo-China to South America been fresh in the memory, the Arab navigators would have heard of it.

The Akkad, Accad, or Sumerian must be looked upon as

a main stock of the class with which we are now dealing. Of the cuneiform inscriptions, the Assyrian and the later Persian had been deciphered, while an early type, named after the kings of Accad, remained obscure. M. Oppert supported a non-Semitic and non-Aryan interpretation, and by the labours of Mons. F. Lenormant many of the characters have now been read, and the language is disclosed to the world.

What that language may be has been hitherto a matter of dispute. The learned M. Halevy has made himself ridiculous by asserting it is no language at all. The chief authorities upon it have shown many alleged relations with Vasco-Kolarian and Ugrian, which, however, are not Ugrian, but prehistoric, while I have confirmed my own forecast (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1871, pp. 53, 58), that it would be found to have Georgian affinities, and to belong to a Palæo-Asiatic class. I am now, however, able more distinctly to assign its position by showing that whatever its affinities may be, it is closely connected in language with the former monument and city building races of the old and new world.

In the tenth chapter of Genesis, already referred to, Accad is brought into the scheme of classification under the family of Ham. The early kings of Chaldea entitled themselves rulers of Sumiri and Accad. Dr Hincks, on the strength of inscriptions belonging to Accad, had proposed for the language the name of Accad, but M. Oppert directed attention to the fact that the people called themselves Sumir or Sumer, and urged the adoption of the term Sumerian. This appears worthy of support from the nature of allied forms. Samaria, a holy city and country, Semirus in Armenia, and Seumara in Iberia, are perhaps forms of Sumer. Raamah and Rama would be conformable. Armenia belongs to the same stock and epoch.

Smyrna (Smurna) and Samorna of Ephesus may also be assigned, as may be Asmurna of Hyrkania and Zimura of Aria. Ephesus and Smyrna must have been great seats of Sumerians. There we have Mount Sipylus (Sipula), with

the Suburu or statue (Akkad) of Niobe. There is, however, strangely enough, another possible explanation I can suggest in the relation of Sipylus to Sibû, Siva or Seba, and of Niobe to Nebo. The ancients were by no means agreed as to the attribution of the legend of Niobe. It is possible that both of these explanations may have been applied in succession, which is a common phenomenon in mythology. Near is another Lydo-Sumerian sculpture, the Pseudo-Sesostris of Nymphæ. Near Ephesus is Pygela or Pugela (Pucala, Pucara, the castle), the R changing to L in this district.

Using the term of Sumerian as a general term, we have Accad for Babylonia, and Dr Birch's term of Khita for Hamath, while we may use Sumero-Peruvian or Khita-Peruvian to cover the whole of the unclassified phenomena of race, language, culture, and mythology.

The Georgian languages afford an interpretation of some of the terms of the pre-Hellenic topographical nomenclature of the old world. These languages now include the Karthueli or Georgian, the Swan, the Lazian of Asia Minor, the Mingrelian, etc. One ancient representative appears to me to have been the Canaanite.

While the names of rivers and places are uniform in Asia Minor, the few remains of the language and inscriptions, except the Lycian, which is most likely Lesghian, appear to conform to a Canaanite or Georgian standard. To this, in compliance with ancient tradition, the Etruscan is by me annexed, as it was in 1870 and 1871 (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, pp. 56, 58), although it must be stated that my materials of interpretation have as yet been scanty. The Rev. Isaac Taylor, who has published a book on a Ugrian hypothesis of Etruscan, at the Congress of Orientalists produced a further paper as to the connection of Etruscan with Accad, which is based upon and confirms my views. In illustration of the general connection, and of the interesting question of Etruscan, Tables I. and II. may be referred to. Mr George Smith, in the last moments of his life and discoveries, appears to have confirmed at Carchemish this conformity of Etruscan and Khita.

TABLE I.

	ETRUSCAN.	GEORGIAN.	OTHERS.	AMERICA.
Boy, son,	agalletor,	shwili (akhali, young),	chvalay (Circassian),	akun (Mexican).
	maris,	krma,	.....	butsi (Othomi).
	puii ?	bichi,	bosheth (Canaanite),	.....
Goat,	kapra,	tkhavi,	khapa (Mon),	paka (Peruvian).
Ape,	arimus,	[iremu, stag],	.....	.....
Eagle,	antar,	arthsiri,	.....	kondori (Quichua, Peruvian).
Hawk,	aracus,	kori (vulture),	.....	.....
		archagi (pelican),	.....	.....
Beetle,	burrus,	buzi (fly),	.....	.....
Swan,	tusna,	sawat,	.....	.....
Crane,	ginis,	ikvi (duck),	.....	ancana (Quichua ; eagle, Peruvian).
Heaven,	falandum,	.....	vonafay (Circassian),	andvui (Misteca).
Apollo (Sun),	usil,	.....	zal (Accad).	.....
Diana (Moon),	tala,	.....	la (Burman),	sillo (Aymara ; star, Peruvian).
Ghost, shadow,	hinthial,	(nitheli, dark),	.....	citlali (Aztek).
Helmet,	cassis,	chachkani,	.....	llantu (Peruvian).
Black,	thapir,	shavi,	shoonseh (Circassian),	.....
Brown,	kiarthialisa,	kardzi,	.....	.....
Strong,	kahathial,	.....	atta (Circassian),	.....
			high,	.....
I, me,	me,	mi,	mu (Akkad),	ga (Quichua, Peruvian).
And,	cei,	.....	.....	.....
Cupid,	agfisur,	gwar, love ;	.....	.....
		shur, desire,	.....	.....
Vulcan,	sethlans,	tsetskhlī, fire,	.....	tletli, fire (Mexican).
Make, work,	kana,	qana,	.....	kana, cut (Aymara, Peruvian).
Aurora,	thesan,	.....	tuna (Akkad),	.....
			dawn,	.....

TABLE II.

ETRUSCAN.	GEORGIAN.	AKKAD.	CIRCASSIAN.	CAMB., ETC.	CANAAN.	PERUVIAN.
1. makh,	...	...	...	moe,	...	mai.
2. thu,	...	...	oh,	...	...	yscay.
3. zal,	sami,	essa,	shee,	htsan,	sam,	kimsa.
4. huth,	othkhi,	...	...	...	...	ttahua.
5. ki, kiem,	khuthi,	...	...	...	...	...
6. sas,	ekusi,	as,	shoa,	sau,	...	sojta.
7. be[m]ph,	shwidi,	...	...	...	...	pakalko.
10. alchl ?	...	...	...	...	...	kalko.

In the following illustrations the same characteristics as in Etruscan are to be found :

	ASIA MINOR.	W. AND E. ASIA.	AMERICA.
Earth,	gissa (Lydian),	yatta (Circas.); khsach (Cambodian),	labtayeh (Huastec); tepe (Aztek).
Water,	vedu (Phrygian),	pseh (Circas.); pi (Mon),	.....
Rock,	taba (Carian),	.....	tepe (Aztek).
Garden,	ganos (Phrygian),	kana (Georgian); gana (Accad),	.....
Village, town,	deba (Thracian),	daba (Georgian),	deba (Guarani).
Fat, oil,	pikerion (Phrygian),	pshey (Circas.); pa ? (Accad),	raccu (Quichua).
Sheep,	ma (Phrygian),	mayley (Circas.); me, goat (Cambodian),	llama (Peruvian).
Horse,	ala (Carian),	la, animal syllable (Accad),	.....
King,	gala (Carian),	ungal (Accad),	.....

One source of Etruscan, as of some other extinct languages, is to be traced to the same process of "survival" as in all anthropological departments. Latin will, when duly worked by analysis, form a rich mine.

SURVIVALS OF ETRUSCAN IN LATIN.

Goat, . . .	capra, . . .	tkhavi (Georgian).
Spring, . . .	scaturigo, . . .	tsqori.
..... . . .	scatebra, etc., . . .	tsqaroni.
Sieve, . . .	cribrum, . . .	tskhrili.
Old, . . .	vetus, . . .	azvili.
Straw, pipe, . . .	stipula, . . .	thskepli.
Seat, . . .	scabellum, . . .	.....
..... . . .	scamnus, . . .	.....
Crime, . . .	scelus, . . .	tsodva.
Brush, . . .	scopetus, . . .	tsetskhi.

While Canaanite and Hamath come within the Hamitic scheme of Genesis, and are so far allied to Sumerian, which their character of culture supports (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1871, p. 58), yet there are divergences of language and of culture so great that I cannot but regard the Canaanitic, Lydian, and Etruscan, as constituting a distinct

branch, at present to be assigned to Sumerian, but perhaps afterwards to be subdivided. It will most likely be found that Accad and Khita, being separate stocks, others are to be assigned to each of them.

Hamath, Carchemish, or some such local metropolis, most likely afforded the centre of a distinct development of civilisation, with tribal forms of language and mythology, and producing syllabic and alphabetic characters, afterwards attributed to the Phœnicians. Georgian and Akkad have double plurals, the remains of a prehistoric characteristic, and there are resemblances in the verbs and numerals, but there are dissimilarities. The Georgian double plurals *-ni* and *-bi* figure as third personal pronouns in Akkad. These particles are not without resemblance to negatives.

At an early period of the examination of Georgian, I was much struck with the propensity for sticking in or inserting consonants, as in Mexican and other languages. The immediate explanation of the *tl* in Mexican is, however, to be sought in Circassian. In Georgian it is perhaps *th*.

The exact affinities of Georgian are not shown by the existing members of the Sumero-Peruvian or Khita-Peruvian class. Some are found in Ka, a language allied to the Indo-Chinese group, and some in Cambodian, yet Georgian is evidently related to Etruscan. Thus :

GEORGIAN.			CAMBODIAN.			
Head,	.	.	thawi,	.	.	tuwi (Ka).
Mouth,	.	.	piri,	.	.	soar.
River,	.	.	mdinare,	.	.	daktani (Ka) ; tanle.
Rock,	.	.	} tma,	.	.	tamoe, „
Mountain,	.	.		.	.
Stone,	.	.		.	.

The elements of Georgian are found in the numerals : 1, erthi, G. (trao, Ka) ; 2, ori (bur) ; 3, sami (tam) ; 4, othki (chin) ; 5, khouthi (Ka) ; 8, rwa (peh) ; 9, tskhra (tsar, Khong). Ka is found for 5 on the left hand in Mon. The Georgian numerals equal the left-hand Mon and Ka numerals.

COMPARISON OF AKKAD AND GEORGIAN GRAMMAR.

AKKAD.	GEORGIAN.
= Nouns more than one plural,
= Emphatic form ending in a vowel,
= Negative series,
= Formation of persons of verbs,
= Formation of participle,
= Formation of negative verbs by the prefix Nu,
= Resemblance of numbers,
= Insertion in verb of pronouns governed,
= Use of post positions,
= Use of Ni, Bi,	Na.
♥ = Use of M, S,

The following table shows the comparison of Akkad :

COMPARISON OF AKKAD AND QUICHUA GRAMMAR.

AKKAD.	QUICHUA.
Noun, emphatic state, a	None.
„ Dual = 2 (kas)	Dual regarded = 2 (pura)
„ pronouns postpositional	= ...
„ several plurals	= =
„ pl. -ene	= -cuna, -ntin.
„ -mes	= ...
„ plural by duplication	=
„ locative -ta	= -ta, through.
„ ablative -na	= -nae, wanting.
„ opportune -gal	= ? -ccepi (after, behind).
Verbs governed,	persons not the same.
pronouns incorporated	= ...
„ plural -une, -ne	= -un ?
„ -mus, -s	-chic.
„ gan, to be, exist	= can, to be. [plural.
Noun,	numeral used without
Adjective after noun,	before noun.
Pronouns S. 1 ? 2 ? 3, two forms, . . . . .	...
Pl. 3.	= ...
„ Demonstrative some resemble =	...
Conjunction Cama, with, and	= cama, according as,
Numerals, many	= all.
ordinals -kam	= nequen.

It is in what I term the negative series that one of the leading laws of prehistoric philology and mythology is to be found. Under this the negative No or Not is the equivalent of Night or Black (Niger). It is also the equivalent of woman, as the negative, man being treated as the positive. So all female names become negative, as wife, Eve, ewe, hound (= bitch), she-goat, cow, mare, etc.* Death, kill, executioner, have negative relations. So have egg and nit, and secondarily pea, bean, and nut (as resembling an egg). Ear and head appear to be negative. Nephele, in mythology, is one of the forms of Khavēh or Eve. Shadow is a negative, and in some cases equivalent to soul and night. In Guarani there is an ingenious distinction between the soul of the living and the dead; and so of a head, bone, skin. The soul of the dead man is supposed in many countries to lodge in birds. This may be one ground why the bird is negative, as bearing the soul of the dead. Blood is a negative apparently as related to death. Hence red is a negative, and some curious mythological and archæological conditions arise, for red is likewise the equivalent of the number two.

Dr Zerffi informs me that red was the second colour in various positions, as on dice and on temple terraces, but this requires closer investigation. Mr Park Harrison and Mr J. Jeremiah have observed the use of red as a colour widely prevalent in the regions now under consideration, for the purposes of this investigation. The red hand figures equally in Syria and in America.

The virtue of red as a preservative against the evil eye is referred to in Walter K. Kelly's "Curiosities of Indo-European Traditions and Folk Lore," p. 147. In Buchan, Aberdeenshire, the housewives tie a piece of red worsted round their cows' tails before turning them out to grass for the first time in the spring. It is, however, better shown in Germany (p. 229), where herdsmen lay a woman's red apron, or a broad axe covered with a woman's red stocking, before the threshold

* In another relation woman becomes the equivalent of the Yona and mouth, and by her periodicity, resembling that of the moon, the equivalent of that body.

of the cow-house, and make the animals step over it. The bringing together of woman, cow, and red, is noteworthy. The lady-bird seems to hold its place in folk lore as being red (p. 95). It is held unlucky to kill a lady-bird in Germany, as the sun would not shine the next day. It is possible that the robin redbreast owes his mythical place to the same characteristic, and it is also unlucky to kill him. The woodpecker has a red head or mutch (p. 86), and a black body. Bad is negative, as is naked. Sleep and dream are negative, as belonging to the night series. Salt is negative. Water, in some senses, is a negative, and appears to be connected with woman. Night was the negative of day, or the closing of the eye, and it had its own world of darkness, with its night sun, its sleep, and its dreams. It was the domain of shadows and the ultimate refuge of the soul. Its mythological relations in this respect will best be studied in the treatment of animism by Mr Tylor.

There are few prehistoric, protohistoric, or historic languages which do not display the negative series. Among such may be named: Wolof, Agaw, Vasco-Kolarian (very marked), Ugrian, Egyptian, Sumerian (very marked), Dravidian, Semitic (not strongly marked), Aryan (very marked).

For Aryan, a popular illustration is afforded by not, night, nut, nit, naked, nest, snow, Eve, ewe, egg, wife, cow, nox, nix, nex, nux, nec, non, nudus, nidus, nodus, niger, nubes, ovis, ovum, avis, uva, caput, auris.

The way in which the negative roots are distributed among the various branches of a class is peculiar, and affords a distinction.

Thus Latin uses N largely, and O (KR) sparingly; Greek, M, O, largely, and KR or KL sparingly. Thus Aymara uses P, K, H; Mon uses P (sparingly), K, H (sparingly), and T.

In reality, the dissyllables are chiefly the same, for the O (ovum, oon) is nothing but the K, B, and KB of the Vasco-Kolarian and Sumerian Kaba, Paka, and the KR (Karua, Auris, etc.) that of the Sumerian Raka.

The words for woman, as Khavch, Eve, Agave, Hebe, Ne-

phela, Wife, have descended through ages as the formula for verbal mythology, and hence figure so largely in the earliest records of Genesis, in the traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean, and among the Aryans.

A sufficient example will be afforded by the following :

NEGATIVE SERIES.

		AYMARA.		MON OF PEGU.
Moon,	ab,	paksi,	b,	khatu.
Red,	ab,	pako,	ab,	hpakit.
Two,	a,	papaya,	a,	pa.
Ear,	ab,	(paoki,)	b,	khato.
Head,	ab,	phekai.	b,	katan.
Night,	be,	haipu,	b,	khatan.
River,	c,	hahuire,	a,	pi.
No, Not,	c,	hani,	c,	ha.
Salt,	c,	hazu,	a,	po.
Bad,	...	...	bc,	hakha.
Bitter,	c,	haru,	b,	katan.
Black,	b?	chamaka?	b,	katsan.

The dissyllable is largely developed with the negative.

It should be mentioned that a negative is not necessarily a prefix or suffix, but in prehistoric grammar may be intercalated, as in Gondi (Khond), Vasco-Kolarian, and Sumerian Akkad or Khita-Peruvian. A middle negative may depend on the same principle.

The question may be incidentally considered, whether the Sumerian population of Indo-China was supplied from Babylonia, or from a common centre in High Asia. In my view, it was from the common centre, because although there are great affinities between the Sumerian or Akkad and the eastern analogues, yet there are greater affinities between these latter among themselves, and there are common points of dissimilarity from Sumerian. There were most probably two migrations in succession to the Agaw. One embraced the Akkad, Mon, Cambodian, Aymara, and Maya (and Toltek?). The other, the Georgian, Etruscan, Siamese, Quichua, and Aztek. The earliest may, however, have been the Circassian Otomi.

Proceeding onwards, Indo-China, or the southern districts of the further peninsula beyond India, may be treated as one linguistic area. They include Pegu in the west, Siam in the middle, and Cambodia in the east.

This region was known to the ancients as being held by populations in a state of advancement. Pegu is the country at the mouth of the Irrawaddy, and was formerly independent, but fell under the dominion of the Burmese empire. In 1852 the province, with the towns of Pegu, Prome, and Rangoon, was taken by the English. The people call themselves Mon, but are called Talaïn by the Burmese. The language is a most valuable member of the Sumerian for illustration. There are large ruins.

Siam lies in the middle of India, beyond the Ganges, and is the seat of a great and settled empire. The Siamese people and language are, however, of less importance to us in this inquiry, at this period, than are the others.

Kambodia, or Camboja (Kan-phu-cha, Chinese), is the western part of Annam or Cochinchina, on the Saigon and Cambodia rivers, bordering on eastern Siam. Of late years it has been attacked by the French, who have taken and hold Saigon.

The great marble ruins of the ancient capital of the Thinae, near Saigon, have long been known. The Cambodians were remarked by the early Arab voyagers as manufacturers of very fine linen. The natives call themselves Kammer or Khmer (=Aymara). Kitaya too, or Indo-China, may be only another form of Khita, equivalent to Kissii or Cissii, and to Quichua. It is to be observed that the explored monuments of Cambodia are not ancient like those of Babylonia, but rather modern and synchronous with those of Peru and Mexico, but it is probable earlier remains will be found.

Cambodia has been studied by M. Mouhot, by M. Garnier in his large and valuable work, and lately by Mr Kennedy in his paper read before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts (*Journal*, 1873-74), when I presided, and had the oppor-

tunity of giving some early explanations of the linguistic relations as recorded in the journal of the Society.

The ancient kingdom of Camboja, in India, which gave name to the Gulf of Camboja, or Cambay, has engaged the attention of Indian archæologists, but not to the degree its importance merits. In the later history of this kingdom it was still considerable, but it was the representative of an ancient and perhaps the earliest civilisation of India, belonging to that epoch, which was universal, of which General Cunningham has found the examples.

The river names of India are repeated in New Granada, on the one hand, and in Etruria and Italy on the other. In conformity, as I stated in a note sent to the International Congress of Orientalists in 1874 (N. Trübner), the town names obey the same law. It was from India, and not from Babylonia, that we may, as said, assume that the stream of civilisation passed towards the Pacific, and in India will yet be found the origin and remains of early letters, the influence of which to this day will still be recognised. The two names of the hundred-streamed feeder of the Indus, *Hesudrus* (100, Georgian), and *Zadudrus* (100, Sanscrit), are worthy of note; as also *athasi* (1000, Georgian), and *athasi* (88, Hindustani).

The affinities of grammar between the new world and the old, though dealt with by various writers, as in the "Mithridates," were only scientifically treated by a few, as by Humboldt, the Rev. Richard Garnett, and Dr Daniel Wilson ("Prehistoric Man," p. 594). Characters common to the Polynesian had been recognised, but Mr Garnett pointed out that besides these, others were to be found common to the languages of the Dekkan in India.

On the other hand, Dr Oscar Peschel, in his "Volkerkunde," 1874, p. 472, still maintains that the culture of Peru and Mexico was indigenous.

Mr Tylor also ("Early History of Mankind," p. 209) says: "No certain proof of connection or intercourse between Mexico and Peru seems as yet to have been made out." This expresses the state of prevalent opinion, and although the

materials for linguistic investigation are abundantly displayed in Dr Latham's valuable "Elements of Comparative Philology," such opinion has been little contested. In fact, although the languages are allied, yet that alliance has to be demonstrated from the outside, and until the disinterment and decipherment of the Sumerian or Akkad inscriptions, it was almost impossible to be proved.

The Aymara and Quichua languages of Peru, the Aztek of Mexico, and the Maya of Yucatan, are all allied with the Indo-Chinese, and thereby with the Akkad as Sumerian. Even to the negative series and numerals the points of resemblance are remarkable. Some of these resemblances between Akkad and Quichua had, on the perusal of M. Lenormant's works, struck Senor de la Rosa, a distinguished Peruvian scholar, and, on the reading of my paper at the Anthropological Institute, he referred to several examples lying on the surface. He also referred to resemblances between Quichua and Semitic and Aryan. These I treated as resulting from the influence of Sumerian and the older languages on Semitic and Sanskrit.

The Rev. Professor Campbell of Montreal has furnished me with a large number of analogies between the Peruvian words cited by me and Celtic. In Peru and Bolivia the chief languages now are the Quichua, or Inca, and the Aymara. Of the Aymara, a copious and valuable memoir was on the 21st June 1870, communicated to the Ethnological Society (parent of the Anthropological Institute) by the late David Forbes, F.R.S., and this constitutes a text-book. The language of the Aymaras is spoken in southern Peru and northern Bolivia. They were conquered by the Incas. The Quichua is spoken in northern Peru and southern Bolivia. The Aymaras claim to have been a great people before the Inca conquest (1100), perhaps beyond any South American people. Ruins of grand palaces and temples are found at Tiahuanaca, on the south of Lake Titicaca (Forbes), the capital of the Aymara land. The conquest of it was completed in 1289, but was followed by serious revolts. Forbes says, too

(p. 4), that, according to Indian traditions from Aymara as well as Quichua sources, the Aymaras, even before the time of the first Inca, Manco-Capac (1021-1062), possessed a degree of civilisation higher than that of the Incas themselves. Consul Hutchinson maintained before the Anthropological Institute a like doctrine as to the Chimoos.

The Aymara area has been supposed to be limited to that now occupied by them, but it is to be observed that the names found in the neighbourhood of Lake Titicaca are much better developed in New Granada. It is therefore evident that the Aymara, or perhaps pre-Aymara, occupation must have extended so far north. Mr Clements Markham considers that the Inca empire never reached so far northward, and Mr Forbes was not aware of such an extension of the Aymara as must now be allowed for. Aymara is possibly the equivalent of Kemer or Khmer, the name of the Cambodians, and of the Sumer, the name of the people connected with Accad. Quichua, in Peru, and Quiché, in Mexico, may represent the Kissii or Cissii, or Khita; and these again may be connected with Cush or Akush. Of the Quichua or Inca language and people it is not necessary to say so much, as they are more familiarly known, and have been and will be incidentally referred to.

To the Quichua language Mr Clements Markham has devoted himself, and produced a grammar and dictionary which have been of very great service in these investigations. I have also employed the "Arte of Torres Rubio," on which his grammar is founded. This work of Mr Markham's is likely to be of more importance even than he anticipated, now that Quichua and Aymara must be studied for the comparative grammar of Akkad. Senor de la Rosa and Senor Pacheco are engaged on new Quichua grammars.

The Aztek culture of Mexico, as Humboldt well saw, was derived from the old world, as was its language, which is to be classed with Sumerian, but intermediate between Aymara and Otomi.

The Otomi, Cora, and Tarahumara, with perhaps the Huas-

teca, constitute a class under Sumerian influence, but allied with the Adighe or Circassian, which likewise exhibits Sumerian influence, and has a remarkable but distant resemblance with Etruscan.

In the Caucasian languages, I had long since traced what are called North American characteristics, and others I found in the Georgian, but the cause was unknown to me till of late. A considerable influence must have been exerted by the Agaw and Otomi migrations on the Indian languages of North America.

The presence of the Circassian-Otomi has to be accounted for. The higher Sumerians are marked as a city-building people, but the Circassian in the Caucasus is what the Otomi is in Mexico. The Otomis must have preceded the Sumerians in South America, or been driven forward by them as the Agaw-Guarani were into Brazil. The Otomis may have had connections or dealings with the monument-building races of North America. At a later date, on the Sumerian kingdoms in Mexico becoming weaker, they returned and invaded Mexico.

Dr Latham ("Opuscula Essays," 1860, p. 395) gives "the result of a very hurried collation," for the Otomi, "said to be with languages akin to the Chinese *en masse*" (p. 397), and for the Maya (p. 398). The latter list is chiefly of Aztek words. He makes no remarks, but the tables show many affinities with Tonkin and Cochin-Chinese. Had Dr Latham followed this up, he might probably have obtained the clue to the relation of the Mexican languages, though he might have been baffled, as some of the affinities can only be illustrated by bringing together the Quichua and Aymara as members of the group, and the Akkad then undeciphered. It is, in fact, now a part of the evidence that Humboldt, Garnett, Latham, etc., are found to have contributed material for the true solution.

The history of Mexico is supplied from accessible sources. Its best known language is the Aztek. On the preceding Toltek, I can throw no light. The monuments and culture

of Mexico may, after the reference already made to them, be passed over. Sufficient to say, that the monuments are of great dimensions and highly decorated. Yucatan possesses similar remains, described by J. L. Stephens. The Maya, a language formerly cultivated, comes distinctly within the Sumerian class.

In "Incidents of Travel, by J. L. Stephens, in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan," vol. ii., are hieroglyphics, which are arranged in rows, and appear to present some of the principles of the cuneiform or hieratic, as III II III III □ II.

The same is to be observed at Palenque (ii. 342, 424). These latter present even more resemblance to the Hamath inscriptions, as ☉ ☉, also the extended arm (see also Hissarlik and Easter Island) is worth further examination.

The square hieroglyphics, or rather squares of hieroglyphics, found in Central America, are most probably only a modification of the row or column of hieroglyphics in the Yucatan and Hamath, and which has a representative in hieratic cuneiform. The carvings on the rocks at the Yonan Pass, in Peru, engraved by Consul T. J. Hutchinson ("Peru," ii. 174, 176), are deserving of study. Some of the characters are ideographs, but some likewise present a resemblance to Hamath and other characters; and Easter Island inscriptions, on which Mr Park Harrison has laboured, deserve attention. In Polynesia the remains of massive stone buildings have been found in Tongatabu, Easter Island, Rota, Tinian, Valan, and elsewhere (Wilson's "Prehistoric Man," p. 109). To these may be added Java, Pegu, Cambodia, Peru, Mexico, and Yucatan.

Among the facts adduced by Mr Park Harrison for the migration from east to west, through Australasia, he refers to colossal heads in the east, and in Easter Island. Colossal heads will be found in Stephens' "Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan," vol i., pp. 139, 143, 150, 152, 153, and 328. They have been identified in Babylonia, Cambodia, Easter Island, and Peru.

M. Perrot, under the name of Lydo-Phrygian, and myself,

under the name of Lydo-Assyrian, and which I would now call Lydo-Sumerian, have pointed out the westerly extension of the monuments in Asia Minor, including the Niobe, near Magnesia ad Mæandrum, and the Pseudo-Sesostris, near Nymphæ, in the Smyrna district. To this may be added the colossal head from the outskirts of Smyrna, found by Mr F. Spiegelthal in 1865, and identified by me, and brought to the British Museum by Mr G. Dennis. The name of Lydo-Akkadian is perhaps still better for these monuments.

The use of enormous blocks of admirably squared stone, without cement, is a feature common to both continents, and deserving of investigation, as well as the mode in which such blocks were quarried and transported. In South America there were no beasts of burthen available. The employment of bricks and cement, and generally the adoption of the building arts, are also worthy of careful examination.

Stephens, in his "Yucatan," vol. i., p. 134, gives a very remarkable engraving of a capital of a column at Uxmal, of old world character. At Uxmal there are buildings constructed on terraces and mounds, as there were at Babylon (i. 135). This is worth observing for further comment.

Burial towers are to be recognised in Syria, Persia, India, Siam, and Peru. The knowledge of bronze, goldsmiths' work, silver work, and other metallurgy, has not passed unobserved by writers. Gold dentistry has been recognised in Peru and Egypt (Tylor, "Early History of Mankind," p. 175).

The employment of bronze in America presents no difficulty under the acceptance of a Sumerian settlement. If the Agaws did not become acquainted with the large tin supplies of Malacca, the East Sumerians did, as they were acquainted also with the working of gold and silver; hence they readily introduced these arts into America, or rather improved them, because the mound builders were acquainted with copper and bronze working. Although the Sumerians, as the topographical nomenclature shows, were acquainted with tin in Britain before the Phœnicians, it is probable Malacca, and not Britain, was the great seat of the early supply of tin.

Consul Hutchinson ("Peru," ii. 266) institutes a justifiable comparison between the masonry and pottery of ancient Peru observed by himself, and the prehistoric discoveries of Dr Schliemann in the Troad. In fact, if my views are correct of the Lydians, Phrygians, and Carians of Asia Minor, with the Etruscans and Sumerians, then there would be a positive identification of epoch and class between the Troad and Peru.

In Peru, drinking cups and other articles were buried with the dead, as in Etruria, Greece, etc. The Peruvian cups were supposed to be used for drinking at the funerals (Forbes, 49).

The woven fabrics are also to be noted in connection with Peru and the country of the Thinaë or Cambodia.

The quipu or knotted cord, as a record, is found in Peru, Mexico, Hawaii, Polynesia, the eastern archipelago, and China (Prichard, iv. 466; Tylor, "Early History of Mankind," pp. 156, 160).

The scape llama referred to by David Forbes (p. 45), may be compared with the scapegoat of the East.

Sacrifices of men to the gods were used by the earlier races, as the Dahomans, but it is to be noted that they were a practice also of the worship of Baal, and in Peru and in Mexico (Wilson, "Prehistoric Man," pp. 81, 91, 290), as well as in the East.

Von Humboldt long since noticed the connection of the Mexican calendar with the Asiatic, and deduced therefrom the Asiatic origin of the civilisation (see also E. B. Tylor, "Anahuac," 241). The Yucatan calendar is allied to the Mexican. The subject of the calendars and inscriptions, together with the Peruvian and Central American languages, for a long time occupied the late Chevalier Bollaert, the author of the "Peruvian Antiquities," and of many memoirs, particularly on the Maya alphabet.

The half month in the early Maya or Yucatan calendar consisted of thirteen days (Stephens' "Yucatan," i. 439). The Siamese, likewise, use as an essential part of a date a half month. This now consists of fourteen days.

The dates in Siamese are arranged on a cross (+).

In Yucatan, part of the cycle was placed on a wheel divided into four, practically, N., E., W., and S. The two systems show a resemblance, and the cross may represent the spokes of a wheel. The Yucatan calendar, which was the same as the Mexican, has lucky and unlucky days, still a common system in the East.

The calendar and the alphabet are closely connected together by a symbology illustrated by Mr Narrien and Mr R. G. Halliburton.*

In the middle of November we have in a line :

1 star,	. . . . .	*	Sirius.
3 stars, in the belt of	. . . . .	***	Orion.
5 stars,	. . . . .	* * *	Bull.
7 stars, cross or Tau,	. . . . .		Pleiades.

The Pleiades, or Seven Dancers, are to this day in many countries, as of old, said to be the paradise of the souls of men.

This day of the conjunction of the Pleiades is, according to seasons, the beginning of the sacred or of the agricultural year, and the festival of the dead. This great and awful day has, too, in many ages and in many lands, been celebrated by human sacrifices.

Here is the natural basis of that symbology, which has played such a part in all times, and which supplies at natural intervals 1, 3, 5, and 7.

It is also, to all appearance, a basis of natural worship, and of syllabic or symbolic characters.

At the beginning of the alphabet we have the star (*), or its equivalent ; at the end, the cross or Tau of the Pleiades (p. 17).

The straight line (—) of three stars in Orion, and the angle (<) of the five in the Pleiades, have afforded models for characters, as the Tau has done.

* See my "Prehistoric Comparative Philology and Mythology," appendix ; W. F. Blake's "Astronomical Myths," p. 111, and the work of Ernest de Bunsen, now in the press.

As these furnished the straight and male elements, Sirius itself being probably an emblem of the sun at night, so did the moon afford the round and female elements for the combinations of the syllabacy.

In the Hebrew square alphabet, which bears evidence of preserving the prehistoric traditions, and which is probably older than the Phœnician and not newer, we have Aleph, Yod, Caph, Ayin, Pe, Tau; Aleph and Tau being beginning and end, and Yod and Caph being together in the middle of the alphabet. These two distinctly represent prehistorically male and female, and being described in Hebrew as the hand and the hollow or palm of the hand, as before stated (p. 17).

The cross has been found by Dr Schliemann in the Troad. The cross is derived from the Pleiades. The square cross is common among the Aymaras (D. Forbes, 39), and was observed by Stephens in Central America.

The red hand seen in the monuments of Yucatan (Stephens), Bollaert says he has seen as far as Arica in Peru ("Anthropology of the New World," p. 114). It is common in Syria and Morocco (Dr A. Leared's "Travels in Morocco;" Rehl's "Morocco").

The Honourable Mr Clay points out that the umbrella was a mark of dignity among the Peruvians, as it was in Babylonia, and is still in the Indo-Chinese countries.

Mr W. Chappell, F.S.A., states that an ancient Peruvian flute gives a scale, showing that the Peruvians used a scale illustrative of that used by the ancient nations of the old world, and giving evidence of a common origin.

The disposition of seven pyramids or mounds by four and three in Egypt and America is probably due to the four outside stars and three inside stars in Orion, but may refer to the Pleiades.

The traces of use of Kawa in Brazil, Chili, and Polynesia most likely belongs to the preceding migrations of the Agaw or Guarani race.

It is with a view of strengthening the chain of evidence that attention is now directed to the town names of Palestine.

These, down to the end of Chronicles, are about four hundred in number. It is possible that some Hebrew names may be embraced in the list, but exact identification is not yet possible, and a casual error is of no immediate importance.

The first step is to arrange these names, as far as may be, according to their roots, and it will be seen that they thus fall into a smaller number of classes than might be supposed, and into distinct classes.

The classification by roots may appear fanciful to some, the more particularly as the consonants are sometimes transposed. This is itself an important phenomenon of the prehistoric epoch, and which has been already referred to as used for the purpose of differentiation. It is possibly in reference to this that transposition is to be found in local names. The last part of Dr Carl Abel's great work, "Keptische Studien," largely deals with transposition or metathesis of the roots; and the fourth part, the "Comparative Philology of Hieroglyphic and Coptic," is greatly dependent on metathesis for many of its results.

It has been already stated that the Rev. Professor John Campbell of Montreal has for a long period assiduously devoted himself to the study of the personal, tribal, and local names of Scripture, with a view to determine the eponyms. Besides his papers in the *Canadian Journal*, and the separate publication of them, his researches will be now better known by means of the paper contributed by him this year to the Biblical Archæological Society. In this he deals much with names in the Babylonian district, and shows great probability of their survival even to the present day. It is to be observed that the possession of a tribal name, or of a language, is no positive evidence of descent. Celts speak English. The Achaian Greeks apparently represented tribes of older and other Agaw race; and if Cymry be continuous with Cimbri or Cimmerii, as Rawlinson and other scholars have taught, it may also be continuous with older forms, like Khmer, as proposed by Professor Campbell, but by no means of the same descent. The Emperor of Germany was King of the

Romans, as Agamemnon was King of the Achivi, and Malcolm of the Picts and Scots; but this did not involve descent, unless by an heiress.

For the purpose of comparison with the archæological regions referred to, the corresponding names are classified in four groups:

1st. Asia Minor, including Armenia, and with Caucasia, Crete, Cyprus, and the Asiatic islands.

2d. Greece, with the northern regions, including Thrace and Illyria, and with the Greek islands.

3d. Italy, with Istria, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica.

4th. Spain, with the Balearic Isles.

The names here given do not constitute the full list, but they are given copiously, because the cases of identity are numerous and striking, and, if a few only were given, they might be suspected to be merely casual coincidences or freaks of language, such as may be picked out from the most discordant languages. Here it is not so, and careful examination will show that the results must be true, and what they ought to be.

COMPARISON OF CANAANITE TOWN NAMES.

PALESTINE.	ASIA MINOR, ETC.	GREECE, ETC.	ITALY, ETC.	SPAIN.
MRS Mosera	Masora, Capp., Armenia	.....	Mazara, Sicily	.....
..... Mosereth	Masara, "	.....	.....	.....
Moresbeth	Mazuri, Pamphylia	.....	.....	.....
Maresbah	Marathusa, Crete	Mursinos, Elis	Merusium, Sicily	.....
Sharaim	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rameses	Seramana, Pontus	.....	Krimisa, Bruttium	.....
.....	Seramusu, Paphlagonia	.....	.....	.....
Shamir	Sormasa, Pisidia	.....	.....	.....
Shimron	Zimara, Capp., Armenia	Ismara, Thrace	.....	.....
Zemaraim	Isnaran, "	.....	.....	.....
Samaria	Sismara, Armenia Minor	.....	.....	.....
.....	Eusemara, "	.....	.....	.....
MRD Rithmah	Azamara, Cappadocia	Kardamule, Laconia	Eretma, Sabini	Kertima, Tarraconensis
Ramath	Rithumna, Crete	.....	.....	.....
Maarath	Harurathus, Troad	Maratha, Arcadia	Maruvium, Sabini	Myrtilis, Lusitania
.....	Marathus, Crete	Phocis	.....	.....
.....	Marathesium, Ionia	Marathon, Attica	.....	.....
Tamar	.....	Tinarus, Epirus	.....	.....
.....	.....	Thimarum, Thessaly	.....	.....
.....	.....	Idomerus, Macedonia	.....	.....
MD Eham	.....	Ithome, Thessaly	.....	.....
Edom	Amida, Armenia	Amathia, Macedonia	Amantia, Bruttium	.....
Amad	Amathus, Cyprus	Amathus, Laconia	.....	.....
Hamath	Madia, Colchis	.....	.....	.....
MDN Temani	Timena, Paphlagonia	Taminæ, Eubœa	.....	.....
Dimonah	Timonitis	Idomene, Acarnania	.....	.....
.....	Domona, Pontus	.....	.....	.....

MDN Temani Dimonah	Madia, Colchis Timena, Paphlagonia Timonitis Domona, Pontus	Tamine, Euboea Idomene, Acarnania Macedonia	Matinum, Italy Mutina, Gallia Cisalpina	Meidunium, Tarracon.
MDN Timnath	Tumnos, Caria Tumna, Armenia Minor Temnos, Mysia Thymnias, Caria Methymna, Lesbos Midaion, Phrygia Madia, Colchis	Methone, Macedonia Thessaly Messenia Argolis Medeon, Acarnania Phocis	Gabia, Latium Molyca, Sicily Modikia, Liguria	
MKB Gebim MKD Mitceah Metheg Dumoh	Medokia, Cappadocia Tumia, Pontus Sidyma, Lycia	Dyme, Thrace Achaia Sadamis, Thrace	Telamo, Etruria Meltanum, "	Adellum, Tarraconensis Talamina, "
MDS Shittim Ziddim Sodom	Deledda, Cappadocia Telmissus, Lycia Meliara, Phrygia Miletus, Caria Crete	Metaba, Etolia Thalamae, Laconia Melitaa, Thessaly Melita, Illyricum Melitonos, Macedonia		
MDB Medeba MDL Adullam Telem Moladah	Melita, Armenia Minor Ameletus, Pontus Kalamude, Crete Armone, Paphlagonia Ramnous, Crete Hermonassa, Pontus	Rhamnus, Attica Orminium, Thessaly Armenium, " Hernione, Argolis	Ariminium, Umbria	
MNR Rimmon	Anemurium, Cilicia Smyrna, Lydia Samorna, Ephesus			
Nimrah Shimron				

MR	Shepham Sibmah Carmel	MR	Karima, Galatia Korium, Crete Germa, Galatia Karnasa Khimera, Lycia Caneira, Rhodes Commoris, Cilicia Arkhama, Cappadocia Rhegma, Cilicia Mogara, Pontus Makrasa, Lydia Lagina, Caria Salamis, Cyprus Salmalassus, Armenia Soluta, Lycia Klazomenae, Lydia Mesleme, Pontus Rhegma, Cilicia Aroma Aromata { Caria Arkhama, Cappadocia Mallos, Cilicia Mala, Colchis Alamai, Albania Baratta, Lycaonia Pera, Phrygia Phreata, Cappadocia Barta, Pontus	MR	Kromi, Arcadia Hymine, Elis Harna, Boeotia Hermione, Argolis Khimera, Epirus Comaros, Epirus Orkhomonos, Boeotia Megara, Megaris Alagonia, Laconia Homelo, Thessaly Halimona, Attica Salamis (I.) Selymbria, Thrace Salmone, Elis Rhama, Thrace Rhannos, Attica Mulai, Thessaly Amilos, Arcadia Melos (I.) Malaia, Arcadia Sparta, Laconia Peraitheis, Arcadia Eupurida, Attica	MR	Aspavia, Boetia Karme, Lusitania	MR	Aspavia, Boetia Karme, Lusitania
BRD	Bered Pirathon Kibroth	BRD	Aspavia, Boetia Karme, Lusitania	BRD	Aspavia, Boetia Karme, Lusitania	BRD	Aspavia, Boetia Karme, Lusitania		

COMPARISON OF CANAANITE TOWN NAMES—Continued.

PALESTINE.	ASIA MINOR, ETC.	GREECE, ETC.	ITALY, ETC.	SPAIN.
BDR Daberoth	.....	Doberos, Macedonia	.....	Roboretum, Tarracon.
Debir	Dabara, Caria	.....	.....	.....
Taberah	Tapura, Armenia Minor	.....	.....	.....
Lodebir	Davara, Cappadocia	Phaidria, Arcadia	Pitharon, Sicily	Litabrum, Tarracon.
Pethor	Patara, Lycia	Abdera, Thrace	Piternum, Sabini	.....
.....	" Capp., Armenia	.....	Petra, Sicily	.....
.....	.....	.....	Pitharon, Sicily	.....
Bithron	Carpathos (I.)	.....	Herbitai, "	.....
Arloth	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arloth	.....	.....	.....	.....
Zarephath	Sparta, Pisidia	Sparta, Laconia	.....	.....
Paran	Prione, Caria	Perinthus, Thrace	Verona, Gallia Cisalp.	.....
.....	Prion, Ephesus	Aperantia, Atolia	Feronia, Sardinia	.....
.....	Briana, Phrygia	Jamphorina, Macedonia	.....	.....
.....	Perperina, Mysia	.....	Priferum, Sabini	.....
Barnea	Abarnis, "	.....	Libarna, Liguria	.....
Ebronah	Kebrone, "	Bruanion, Macedonia	Silbrium, Gallia Cisalp.	.....
Ziphron	Ophruneion "	.....	Siberina, Bruttium	.....
.....	.....	.....	Sybaris, Lucania	.....
.....	.....	Argos, Argolis	.....	.....
BRK Argob	.....	" Acarnania	.....	.....
Rehoboth	Archabis, Cappadocia	.....	.....	.....
Gaber	Cabeira, Pontus	Cuphaira, Thessaly	Capra, Gallia Cisalpina	Capara, Lastania
Chephar	Kibura, Pisidia	Cyparissia, Arcadia	Capraea (I.)	.....
Chephirah	" Cilicia	Kobrus, Thrace	Cupra, Picenum	.....
Kibroth	Kebrone, Mysia	Akraiphiai, Boeotia	.....	.....
Akrabim	Akraba	Phrixia, Elis	.....	.....
Ephrah	.....	Begorra, Macedonia	.....	.....
Eshuri	.....	.....	.....	.....

BRK Rabbah
Arabah

Rhuper, Achaia

COMPARISON OF CANAANITE TOWN NAMES—Continued.

PALESTINE.	ASIA MINOR, ETC.	GREECE, ETC.	ITALY, ETC.	SPAIN.
BDS Ishtob	Stoboi, Macedonia	Stabiz, Campania	Astapa, Boetica
.....	Asitbon, "	.....	Sactabis, Tarraconensis
BSN Tiphah	Thisbe, Boetia	.....	.....
.....	Pasinum, "	Phausania, Sardinia	.....
.....	Siphnos (I.)	Sepinum, Sabini	.....
Zaphon	Hippotai, Boetia	.....	.....
Shophan	Aufidia, Sabini	Badia, Lusitania
BD Eboda	Vatia, "	Biatia, Tarraconensis
.....	Bodetia, Liguria	Adeba, "
Tebbath	Thebæ, Boetia	.....	.....
Thebez	"	Dipos, Lusitania
Taphuah	Dipala, Arcadia	.....	.....
.....	Bithonæ, Thrace	Pitinum, Picenum	Bedunia, Tarracon.
BDN Padan	"
.....	Pudna, Macedonia	Fidena, Latium	.....
Beden	Puthion, Thessaly	.....	.....
Betonim	Apidna, Attica	Phintias, Sicily	Pinetus, Lusitania
Aphinit	Phenike, Epirus	.....	Pintia, Tarraconensis
.....	Pulla, Macedonia	Abella, Campania	Aboula, "
BL Abel	Pulla, Thessaly	Abolla, Sicily	Bella, "
Abila	Phelcoe, Achaia	Pallia, Etruria	Obila, Lusitania
Bula	Bolcoe, Argos	Pella, Corsica	.....
Bala	Pela, Istria	.....
Balah	Olpe, Acarnania	Albium, Liguria	Oliba, Tarraconensis
Eleph	Alba, Latium	.....
Heleph	Allife, Sabini	.....
.....	Phalladaia, Attica	Elavio, Sicily	.....
BLD Bealoth	Palatium, Sabini	Velladia, Lusitania
.....
.....

Blertica, Lusitania

Valegium, Apulia

Platæa, Boetia

Amblada, Pisidia

BLD Baslath

[illegible]

COMPARISON OF CANAANITE TOWN NAMES—Continued.

PALESTINE.	ASIA MINOR, ETC.	GREECE, ETC.	ITALY, ETC.	SPAIN.
BN Nobah	Niobe, Lydia (a dripping stone)	.....	.....	Novium, Tarraconensis
Nophah	Nymphæ, Lydia	.....	.....	.....
Nephtoah (well)	Anave, Phrygia	.....	Nepete, Etruria	Onoba, Bœtica
Anab	Anabon	Anaphe (I.)	.....	Anabis, Tarraconensis
Janobah	Pionia, Mysia	Anope, Laconia	.....	Onoba, Bœtica
Punon	.....	Panion, Thessaly	.....	.....
Ophni	Abanus, Phrygia	Hupana, Achaia	Bononia, Gallia Cisalp.	Baniana, Bœtica
Abana	Icaria (I.)	Ipni, Thessaly	Opinum, Lucania	.....
Achor	Cargura, Caria	Agura, Achaia	Aufena, Sabini	Agria, Tarraconensis
Gerar	Carus, Bithynia	Icaria, Attica	Agerra, Gallia Cisalp.	Caurium, Lusitania
Jagur	Rocca, Crete	Achavrai, Thessaly	Acara, Gallia Cisalpina	.....
Rechah	Acharacha, Caria	.....	Rhegium, Bruttium	.....
Jericho	Arka	.....	Arikia, Latium	Orgao, Bœtica
Karkor	Gargara, Mysia	Kerkas, Bœotia	Akre, Sicily	Orkia, Tarraconensis
.....	Argela, Caria	.....	Kirkeii, Latium	Karruka, Bœtica
KRL Rachal	Bargulia, "	Argule, Attica	Regillum, Sabini	Kurika "
Rogel	Kardasa, Caria	Krokullion, Ætolia	.....	Arakeli, Tarraconensis
Kartah	Gordes, Lydia	Khuretai, Thessaly	Kroton, Bruttium	Vergila "
KRD Kerioth	Krade, Caria	Skiritis, Laconia	.....	Karthago, Tarracon.
Kirjath	Gortuna, Crete	.....	.....	.....
Kartan	Khutriton, Lydia	Gurtona, Thessaly	Cortona, Etruria	Kretina, Lusitania
Kitron	Gebara, Albania	Kitron, Macedonia	Kroton, Bruttium	.....
Geder	Cadtra, Cappadocia	Leuktra, Bœotia	Ekebra, Latium	.....
Gerah	Cedrese, Caria	.....	Nikotera, Bruttium	.....
Gederath	Cyborus, Paphlagonia	.....	Skidrus, "	.....
.....	Ketuora, Pontus	.....	.....	.....

Perkote, Mysia

KRD Rakkath

Gerah	KRD Rakkath	Perkote, Mysia	Erissiadai, Attica	Ergetium, Sicily	Tarraga, Tarraconensis
Gederath	Ariath	Ariassus, Pisidia	Karnasion, Messina	Arretium, Etruria	Aritium, Lusitania
	KRN Karnaim	Karnake, Cappadocia	Koronea, Thessaly	Geronium, Sabini	Karanikum, Tarracon.
		Karnalis, "	" Phocis		
	Ekron	Gorneus, Armenia	Akharna, Attica	Aharna, Etruria	Gerunda, Tarraconensis
		Grynia, Mysia	Kheronea, Boeotia		
		Korna, Lycaonia	Corinthus, Corinthia		
	Horonaim	Aranis, Capp., Armenia	Krannon, Epirus, Thess.	Murgantia, Sabini	
	Haran		Murkinos, Macedonia	Fregene, Etruria	
	Migron	Arukanda, Lycia	Erikinnion, Thessaly	Furkona, Sabini	
	Rakkon	Aranga, Cappadocia		Tarquini, Etruria	
		Rignon, Lycaonia		Ankura, Sicily	
		Ancyra, Phrygia	Anaguros, Attica	Nukeria, Umbria	
	Nahor	" Galatia	Tanagra, Boeotia	" Gallia Cisalp.	
	Anaharoth				
		Khasira, Armenia Major	Lukosoura, Arcadia	Carystus, Liguria	Keresus, Tarraconensis
	Geshuri	Kizara, Cappadocia	Gazorus, Macedonia	Garisi, Sardinia	Sorikaria, Boetia
	Gezer	Gazoura, Pontus	Kharissia, Arcadia	Syracusa, Sabini	
	Jazer	Rhizus, "	Keressus, Boeotia		
	Rissah	Ariassus, Pisidia	Erusikhos, Acarnania	Skhera, Sicily	Sisaraka, Tarraconensis
	Haroseth	Araxa, Lydia		Cremona, Gall. Cisalp.	Sekerra, "
	Harosheth		Corseia, Locris		Sukron, "
	Hareh	Saraka, Colchis	Gareskos, Macedonia		Karne, Lusitania
	Sirah	Carsena, Mysia	Sukurion, Thessaly		
	Charashim	Makrasa, Lydia	Schyros (I.)		
		Sacora, Cappadocia	Croni, Arcadia		
	Marekah	Daskura, Armenia Minor	Hermione, Argolis		
	Sihor	Karima, Capp., Arm.	Hyrmine, Elis		
		Karima, Galatia	Harna, Boeotia		
	Shicron	Korium, Crete			
	Karmel	Cornasa			
	Karen				
	Horen				
	Hormah				

COMPARISON OF CANAANITE TOWN NAMES—Continued.

PALESTINE.	ASIA MINOR, ETC.	GREECE, ETC.	ITALY, ETC.	SPAIN.
KRM Gomorrah	Commaris, Cilicia	Comaros, Epirus	Camarinum, Umbria	.....
.....	Chimarra, Lycia	Chimarra, Epirus	.....	.....
.....	Cameira, Rhodes	.....	.....	.....
.....	..... Crete	.....	.....	.....
Rekem	Rhegma, Cilicia	Orkhomenos, Boeotia	.....	.....
.....	Orkhomenos, Rhodes	.....	.....	.....
Machir	Megara, Pontus	Megara, Megaris	.....	.....
Mechirath	Macraa, Lydia	Amorgos (I.)	Megara, Sicily	.....
Mearah	Magarsa, Cilicia	.....	Himera "	.....
KBN Gibeon	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cabbon	Anakba, Cappadocia	Nikaia, Doris	Capena, Etruria	Cepiana, Lusitania
Nekeb	.....	.....	Xiphonius, Sicily	Equabona, "
KBD Gibbeath	.....	.....	.....	.....
Gibbethon	.....	.....	Capution, Sicily	.....
KB Gaba	Abgabes, Pontus	Caphuai	.....	.....
Aphek	.....	Phoka, Thessaly	Capua, Campania	.....
Aphekah	Phokaia, Lydia	Phokis	Gabii, Latium	.....
.....	.....	.....	Pauka, Corsica	.....
KL Keilah	Kaloe, Lydia	Phageus, Attica	.....	.....
.....	.....	Khalia, Boeotia	Gela, Sicily	.....
Gilgal	Golgoi, Cyprus	Aiglae, Laconia	Celia, Apulia	Kale, Tarraconensis
Hachilah	Kekulion, Mysia	Chalcis, Euboea	Aquila, Sabini	Okilis, "
Hogla	.....	Oichalia, Thessaly	Halkuat, Sicily	.....
.....	.....	" Etolia	Aquileia, Etruria	.....
KLD Gilead	Gelda, Albania	Calyaon, Etolia	Agylla, "	.....
Galeed	.....	Chalidai, Attica	Galata, Sabini	.....
Gelloth	.....	Echelide, "	Tigullia, Etruria	.....
Giloh	.....	.....	Cliternum, Sabini	.....
Makheleth	Megalassus, Capp., Arm.	.....	.....	.....

KLD Migdol

Mugdala, Pamphylia

Galeed	.....	.....	.....	.....	Tigullia, Etruria	.....
Giloh	.....	.....	.....	.....	Citernum, Sabini	.....
Nakheleth	.....	Megalassus, Capp., Arm.	.....	.....	.....	.....
KLD	Migdol	Mugdala, Pamphylia	.....	.....	Kutiliae, Sabini	.....
	Joktheel	.....	.....	.....	Ekhetla, Sicily	.....
	Giddel	.....	.....	.....	Elkethion, Sicily	.....
	Helkath	.....	.....	Lakhiadai, Attica	.....	Olkades, Tarraconensis
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Belgede, "
KLS	Chisloth	Akalissos, Lycia	.....	.....	.....	Egelasta, Tarraconensis
	Chesil	Gazelon, Pontus	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Chesalon	Colossai, Phrygia	.....	Glisas, Bœotia	.....	.....
	Chesulloth	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Salchah	Zalekhus, Paphlagonia	.....	Salganeus, Bœotia	Sulchi, Sardinia	.....
	.....	Sagalassus, Pisidia	.....	.....	.....	.....
KL	Lachish	Lazika, Colchis	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Estcol	Sagulion, Pontus	.....	Lukoa, Arcadia	.....	.....
	.....	Skolla, Cappadocia	.....	Skullai, Thrace	.....	.....
	.....	Saloe (Lake), Lydia	.....	Skollos, Bœotia	.....	.....
	Shiloh	Eglanum, Pontus	.....	Sellasia, Laconia	.....	.....
KLN	Eglon	Kelenoi, Phrygia	.....	Kleonai, Argos	.....	.....
	Golan	Kalunda, Caria	.....	" Phocis	.....	.....
	Ajalon	.....	.....	Kullene, Elis	.....	.....
	Holan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Askelon	Shulake, Mysia	.....	Salganeus, Bœotia	.....	.....

KN	Nahalal	Nakoleia, Phrygia	.....	Ankhiale, Thrace	.....	.....
	Gain	Kana, Mysia	.....	Ganos, "	.....	.....
	Kana	" Lesbos	.....	Gonos, Thessaly	.....	.....
	Janah	Konne, Phrygia	.....	Khuniai, Thrace	.....	.....
	Kinah	Kena, Cappadocia	.....	Aigimon, Thessaly	.....	.....
	Mekonah	Ikoniun, Lycania	.....	Mykonos (I.)	.....	.....
	.....	Egonne, Pontus	.....	Mykenai, Argos	.....	.....
	Neah	Niga, Albania	.....	Nikaia, Doris	.....	.....
KDS	Kadesh	Kudissos, Phrygia	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	Godasa, Armenia Minor	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Succoth	Daskousa, Cappadocia	.....	Skotussa, Thessaly	.....	.....
	Hadashah	Hudissa, Caria	.....	.....	.....	.....
KND	Kenath	Gundusa, Capp., Arm.	.....	Kunaitha, Arcadia	.....	.....

COMPARISON OF CANAANITE TOWN NAMES—Continued.

PALESTINE.	ASIA MINOR, ETC.	GREECE, ETC.	ITALY, ETC.	SPAIN.
KND Hannathon Daanah Taanach KMN Mekonah Gannim Janum Camon } Jokneam } Maon (?) KS Gaza } Azzah } Gaash } Keriz } Hosah } Jahaza } Azekah } Socoh } Shocoh } Seiacah } Shihon } Kattah } KD Gath } Gudgodah } Juttah } Techoa } Athach }	Knidos, Caria Adana, Cilicia Thiana, Cappadocia Magnana, Pontus Akmona, Phrygia Ikoniun, Lycaonia Comana, Pontus " Armenia Haamonai. Assos, Mysia Kissa, Pontus Kussus, Lydia Kuzikos, Mysia Khuza, Cappadocia Mosega, Albania Suke, Cilicia Kula, Colchis Kadi, Phrygia Cadyanda, Lycia Kotuaeton, Phrygia Citium, Cyprus	Panakton, Attica Donakon, Boeotia Migonion, Laconia Mykenai, Argos Mykones (I.) Makunia, Aetolia Alkomenai, Thessaly " Macedonia Haimonai, Arcadia Casos (I.) Kissa, Thrace Hessos, Locris Kissos, Macedonia Husiai, Argos Sikinos (I.) Sicyon, Greece Aegitium, Aetolia Gatheai, Arcadia Guthion, Laconia Dikaia, Thrace Tegae, Arcadia Attica, Greece .....	..... ..... Catana, Sicily Engyum, Sicily Comini Agasus, Apulia Askia, Sabini Sukkeianum, Bruttium Alkidii, Lucania Aegida, Itria Caudium, Sabini Othoka, Sardinia .....	..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... Kanama, Boetia Samna, Balearic Isles Oeasso, Tarraconensis Kaus, Tarraconensis Ossigi, Boetia Tukkia, Boetia Tugia, Tarraconensis Atiakum, " Attegua, Boetia

[illegible]

COMPARISON OF CANAANITE TOWN NAMES—Continued.

	PALESTINE.	ASIA MINOR, ETC.	GREECE, ETC.	ITALY, ETC.	SPAIN.
SM	Azem	Samos (I.)	Oisume, Macedonia	.....	.....
	Ezem	Syme (I.)	.....	.....	.....
SLM	Salem	Salamis, Cyprus	Salamis (I.)	.....	.....
	Shalom	Salmalassus, Armenia	Salmaydessus, Thrace	.....	Salmantika
	Zalmom, Mount	Soluta, Lycania	Salmone, Elis	Sulmo, Sabini	Salmuka, Tarraconensis
	Shillim	.....	Selymbria, Thrace	" Latium	.....
	.....	.....	Solymania (I.)	.....	.....
	Leshem	Klazomene, Lydia	.....	.....	.....
	Mashal	Mesylame, Pontus	Sane, Macedonia	Massilia, Gaul	.....
SN	Zenan	Sana, Armenia Major	Aisonis, Thessaly	Sena, Etruria	.....
	Eshean	Sinna, Cappadocia	Sane, Macedonia	" Umbria	.....
	Shen	" Galatia	Sania, Thrace	Suana, Etruria	.....
	Zaananim	Soana, Cappadocia	.....	Sinuessa, Latium	.....
	Ashan	Azani, Phrygia	Asine, Laconia (3)	Ausona, Latium	.....
	Jeshanah	Osiara, Cappadocia	Azenia, Attica	Sinonia (I.)	.....
	Shunem	Sanua, Albania	Sunium, "	Suna, Sabini	.....
	Sansannah	Saniseni, Paphlagonia	.....	Sussonia, Venetia	.....
	.....	Nazianzene, Cappadocia	.....	.....	Sanisera, Betica
SDN	Sidon	Sidena, Lycia	Sithonia, Macedonia	.....	.....
	.....	" Mysia	Sosthenis, Thessaly	Sestinum, Umbria	.....
	Aznoth	Sunnada, Phrygia	.....	.....	.....
SDL	Eshtaal	Satala, Armenia Minor	Castalia	Statule, Sabini	Setelsis, Tarraconensis
	.....	Astale, Crete	.....	.....	Castulo, Tarraconensis
	.....	Kastolos, Lydia	.....	.....	.....
	.....	Sedala, Armenia Minor	.....	.....	.....
	Thelasar	Artaleson, Armenia	.....	Telesia, Sabini	Sellium, Lusitania
SL	Zela	Zela, Pontus	.....	.....	Solia, Betica
	Sela	Sala, Armenia Major	Lessa, Argos	.....	.....
	Lalish	Ozala, Cappadocia	Eleusis, Attica	Lava, Lucania	Lesa, Tarraconensis

SL	Thebasar Zela, Pontus Sala, Armenia Major Ozzala, Cappadocia	Antareson, Armenia Zela, Pontus Sala, Armenia Major Ozzala, Cappadocia
SS	Luz Alush Shalisha Suzah	Lassora Eleousa, Cilicia Suissa, Cappadocia Assessos, Caria
RM	Ramah (4) Rumah Arumah Iron	Regina, Cilicia Aroma, Caria Archana, Cappadocia Anna (Xanthus)
RN	Haran	Aranis, Capp., Armenia Erana, Cilicia Ameca, Lydia
DL	Naanam Naarath Idala Jethlah Tolad Lod	Nora, Cappadocia Nariandus, Caria Idaleza, Cyprus Attaleia, Lydia Lade, Caria
DLN	Aloth Dilean	Aludda, Phrygia Dolonis, Mysia Mitylene, Lesbos
DN	Ithnan	Thiana, Cappadocia Ilanos, Crete Tenedos (I.)
Taanath	Aneth Anathoth Taralah Zedad Ashdod Ashdoh Hadashah Adadah	Famphyllia Tralles, Caria Side, Famphyllia Tazez, Colchis Edessa, Pisidia Adada, Pisidia
SL	Luz Alush Shalisha Suzah	Lassora Eleousa, Cilicia Suissa, Cappadocia Assessos, Caria
SS	Luz Alush Shalisha Suzah	Lassora Eleousa, Cilicia Suissa, Cappadocia Assessos, Caria
RM	Ramah (4) Rumah Arumah Iron	Regina, Cilicia Aroma, Caria Archana, Cappadocia Anna (Xanthus)
RN	Haran	Aranis, Capp., Armenia Erana, Cilicia Ameca, Lydia
DL	Naanam Naarath Idala Jethlah Tolad Lod	Nora, Cappadocia Nariandus, Caria Idaleza, Cyprus Attaleia, Lydia Lade, Caria
DLN	Aloth Dilean	Aludda, Phrygia Dolonis, Mysia Mitylene, Lesbos
DN	Ithnan	Thiana, Cappadocia Ilanos, Crete Tenedos (I.)
Taanath	Aneth Anathoth Taralah Zedad Ashdod Ashdoh Hadashah Adadah	Famphyllia Tralles, Caria Side, Famphyllia Tazez, Colchis Edessa, Pisidia Adada, Pisidia
DD	Edota, Tarraconensis	Edota, Tarraconensis

COMPARISON OF CANAANITE TOWN NAMES—Continued.

PALESTINE.		ASIA MINOR, ETC.	GREECE, ETC.	ITALY, ETC.	SPAIN.
DD	Hadattah	Adattah, Cappadocia	Theutia, Arcadia	.....	.....
DR	Doraa	Doron, Cilicia	Thuria, Messenia	Tiora, Picenum	Udura, Tarraconensis
	Adoraim	.....	Ithoria, Aetolia	Tharra, Sardinia	.....
	Dor	Hydara, Capp., Armenia	Derai, Sicyon	.....	.....
	Eder	Teria, Mysia	Ithoria, Aetolia	Adria, Gallia Cisalpina	.....
	Ataroth	Thuatira, Lydia	Theudoria, Epirus	Turrita, Etruria	Uttaris, Tarraconensis
	Ariath	Rhoeteum, Mysia	Erition, Thessaly	Arretium, "	Aritium, Lusitania
	Arad	Rhedos (I.)	.....	Erete, Sicily	.....
LM	Millo	Mala, Colchis	Malaia, Arcadia	Meles, Sabini	Malia, Tarraconensis
LN	Allon	Olane, Armenia	Olenos, Aetolia	Olonna	Alonae, "
	Elon	.....	Elone, Thessaly	Luna, Etruria	.....
L	Hali	Ali, Cilicia	Elis, Arcadia	Elea, Lucania	Alia, Tarraconensis
LL	Halhul	Halala, Cappadocia	Halias, Argos	.....	.....
B	Japho	Appia, Phrygia	Abai, Phocis	Oppia, Sabini	Hippo, Tarraconensis
	Japhia	Alpeia, Cyprus	Abia, Messenia	Euboea, Sicily	.....
VD	Avith	Fida, Pontus	Aphetai, Thessaly	Veii, Etruria	.....
N	Ono	Annaia, Caria	Onoe, Attica	Noai, Sicily	.....
DD	Dothan	.....	Dodona	.....	.....

The identification of these names does not depend on simple general resemblance. They will be found to afford details of relationship, which again become of great importance to prehistoric investigation.

The prefixes are—M, T (D), S, B (P), K, L, Y, O, etc., being the ancient series and extending beyond the Semitic.

The words in the Hebrew transliteration are generally in a crude form without a final vowel. They commonly consist of three consonants, with or without a prefix. Many are dissyllables, which in Greek and Latin transliterations are trisyllables. This latter seems to be the Caucasian form for town names, but in Asia Minor there are tetrasyllables. The tetrasyllables in Italy are mostly caused by the addition of a Latin termination.

The vowels conform to a great degree in the Hebrew and the other transliterations, though not always in the same order. Thus, to take a few cases from the earliest in the list :

Mozera,	.	.	.	Masora.
Shamir,	.	.	.	Zimara, Ismara.
Maarath,	.	.	.	Marathus, Maratha, Marathon.
Amad, .	.	.	.	Amathia, Amathus.
Temani,	.	.	.	Timena.
Dumoh,	.	.	.	Tumia, Dumo.
Rimmon,	.	.	.	Armone, Orminium.
Zalmoneh,	.	.	.	Salmone.
Rumah,	.	.	.	Roma.
Paruah,	.	.	.	Pharugai, Verrugo.
Boskath,	.	.	.	Phuska, Buxeta.
Chozeba,	.	.	.	Cassope.
Bashan,	.	.	.	Passandæ, Pasinum.
Betonim,	.	.	.	Bitoana, Puthion.
Aphinit,	.	.	.	Apidna, Phintias, Pintia.
Abila, .	.	.	.	Piala.
Punon, .	.	.	.	Bononia, Panion.
Anaharoth,	.	.	.	Anaguros.
Charashim,	.	.	.	Carasena.
Haamonai,	.	.	.	Haimoniai.
Kinah,	.	.	.	Kinna, Kinniani, Kækina.

Kanah,	.	.	.	Kana, Ganos, Cannæ.
Sharuen,	.	.	.	Saruena.
Zaananim,	.	.	.	Saniana.
Sansannah,	.	.	.	Saniseni.
Idala,	.	.	.	Idalæa.
Dilean,	.	.	.	Delion.
Adadah,	.	.	.	Adada.
Hadattah,	.	.	.	Adatthai.

Where vowels are interchanged in transliterations they are commonly the middle vowels (I, E), and the female vowels (O, U). The male vowels are usually represented by A.

The representation of the double vowels is another marked point.

Baala,	.	.	.	Piala, Pialia.
Taanach,	.	.	.	Thiana.
Gaash,	.	.	.	Ceos.
Naarath,	.	.	.	Nariandus.
Haamonai,	.	.	.	Haimoniai.
Taanath,	.	.	.	Teanum.
Irpeel,	.	.	.	Harpleia.
Techoa,	.	.	.	Tegea, Attegua.
Zoar,	.	.	.	Issoria.
Zanoah,	.	.	.	Soana.
Goath,	.	.	.	Guthion.
Sharuen,	.	.	.	Sarruena, Serrion.
Birei,	.	.	.	Bireia, Barium, Pheræ.
Dilean,	.	.	.	Delion, Dolionis, Tullonium.
Ariath,	.	.	.	Reate.

Of the terminations, one of the first to be noticed is that in H. This, as lengthening the syllable, is represented in sixty-six cases by an additional vowel. A few examples are given :

Mithcah,	.	.	.	Medokia, Modikia.
Nimrah,	.	.	.	Anemurium, Anemoria.
Mizpah,	.	.	.	Messapia, Messapium, Mopsion.
Berachah,	.	.	.	Ambrakia, Bergium.
Bozrah,	.	.	.	Perusia, Bruzcia, Bursao.

Shebah,	.	.	.	Siphæum, Zobia.
Balah,	.	.	.	Piala, Velleia.
Shiloh,	.	.	.	Saloe, Selia.
Suzah,	.	.	.	Suissa, Suessa, Suassa.
Doroa,	.	.	.	Thurium, Tiora.
Hachilah,	.	.	.	Akilium, Aquileia.
Canah,	.	.	.	Chuniæ, Genua.
Hadashah,	.	.	.	Dasea, Tisia.

It is possible that 𐎲 represents the vowel in the ordinary form, as in Greek and Latin it is I, the vowel now used in Georgian.

H changes to N, as Ummah (Homana), Mozah (Amuzon), Socoh (Succceanum), Dimonah (Timonion), Hormah (Hermione, Hurmine), Gomorrah (Camarinum), Arumah (Ariminium), and about twenty cases.

H changes also to S, as Bozrah (Bruzus), Tirzah (Tarsus), Rabbah (Rhupes), and in about twelve cases.

H as a final changes to K, but it is then a radical, as in Sirah (Sirika).

As an intermediate letter and radical it also changes to K, as Haresheth (Keressos, Kharissa), Sihor (Sakora), Anaharoth (Anaguros), Hazar (Chasira), Bilhah (Balkeia), and in about twenty-five cases.

H as a final is represented, as other finals are, by a plural. This takes place in sixteen cases, as Hosah (Husiai), Zartanah (Zortanæ), Hadattah (Adatthai), Berachah (Pharugai), Hachilah (Aigilæ).

The termination th follows the same general laws as that in H.

It represents a lengthening vowel but in a few cases, as Moresheth (Merusium), Baalith (Pæsula).

Th also changes to N, as in Timnath (Temenion), Mephaath (Mevania), and in six cases.

Th changes to S more freely in about twenty-three cases, as Chisloth (Acalissos), Mechirath (Macrasa), Boskath (Abaskus Phuskus).

Th preserves its form as a final and as a radical in many

cases, as Amatha (Amathus), Kenath (Kunaitha), Maarath (Maratha), but is represented also by D, DD, and T. It is possible that the D in Greek transliteration was sometimes a Ddelta (as in Romaic), and not a Delta.

Th as a final is represented also by a plural in twenty cases, as Gibbeath (Kaphuai), Avith (Veii), Moseroth (Mazuri), Gelloth (Khallidai).

N is a terminal. Its peculiarity is that in about twenty examples it is represented also by N, as Shihon (Sicyon), Sharon (Serrion), Kartan (Kroton), Kitron (Khuttrion), Pelon (Peleon, Belon). In most cases, however, it is represented with a vowel added. Occasionally the N is mute, as in Shimron (Simara), Punon (Pionia), Pirathon (Paratheis). It is also represented by a plural form, as Dilean (Tellenæ), Rakkon (Eregenæ).

It is to be noted that N is a terminal in other transliterations, as Galeed (Calydon), Helkath (Elkethion), Maroth (Marathon).

M is a terminal.

M as a plural is not always represented as a plural in other transliterations. The best examples are Akrabim (Akraiphai, Kekropai), Betonim (Bithenæ, Potniai), Zaanim (Azani), Gebim (Gabiæ), Bochim (Bagæ).

The plural forms of the ancient town names of the several regions is perhaps to be thus accounted for. A Caucasian capital would consist of three parts, representing the middle, male, and female. The middle town was the citadel, with the residence of the king and soldiery, with the fire-temple on the hill; the male town contained the residence of the governor and the priests, of the artisans and tradesmen, with the temples and groves of worship; and the female town was the seaport or river suburb, with its population of persons devoted to the water, fishermen, boatmen, sailors, aliens, slaves, etc. In case of a summer town and a winter town, the winter town would be the middle town on the hills, and the summer town the town on the river and plain. To express all the towns the plural of one form, the middle town,

for instance, might be used; and this practice begun in Caucasia, would be adopted by Hebrews, Hellenes, Latins, Iberians.

Looking to the terminations in N, P or V, S, Th, it is most likely they represent the two Caucasian plurals, and the locative and dative cases.

Sh as a radical and terminal is represented by S and Z. It is found as Z in Shebah (Zobia), Bashan (Bizana), Eshean (Azenia), etc.

As Sh has no character in Hellenic and Latin, it appears to have been specially represented in Greek and Latin by Ss, or S with a vowel, in about twenty-five cases, as Kadesh (Kudissos), Hadashah (Hudissa, Edessa), Bashan (Abassos), Hareh (Keressos), Lachish (Leugasia), Gaash (Kissa), Mashal (Massilia), Shaarim (Siarum), Ashen (Osiana). It is conceivable that Si would be convertible into Sh, but the Ss must have had a like property in some Hellenic dialects.

Another noticeable transliteration is the representation of Sh by Sk, Ks, of which we have about twenty examples, such as Ashnah (Sakoena, Skhoineus, Aixone), Mareshah (Morosgi), Shalom (Askolum), Ashan (Oxynia), Shebarim (Skarpha).

Z is transliterated by Z in several examples, as Zela (Zela), Azem (Zama), Gizon (Gazene).

In all the forms of transliteration the full vowel is occasionally transposed and made the initial letter, as in Eshtaol (Astale), Ishtob (Astapa), Suzah (Assessos), Aznoth (Sunada), Nimrah (Anemurium).

A peculiarity in Canaanite town names, that of alliteration, is to be found in the other transliterations. Thus Madmenah and Sansannah, neighbouring and assonant names, are paralleled by Methymna, Saniseni, Sanisera, Nazianzene, Susonnia. So Hazazon, Hukkuk, Gudgodah, Zaanim, Halhul, Elealah, are paralleled by Assissium, Suessula, Sisaraka, Akkatuki, Perperina, Pompelon, Alala. (See also the American names.)

It is worth while to regard some of the names, which are common to Palestine and the other regions, and some of which are familiar enough.

In Greece we see :

Athens.	Sicyon.	Chalcis.	Æmathia.
Thebes.	Phocis.	Eleusis.	Ithome.
Argos.	Marathon.	Messapia.	Pharsalus.
Mycenæ.	Methone.	Pharsalus.	Pydna.
Corinth.	Mantineia.	Leuctra.	Pelle.
Megara.	Salamis.	Cyllene.	Idomene.
Sparta.	Tegea.	Dodona.	Rhamnus.
Lacedemon.	Platea.	Calydon.	Perga.
Messene.	Pallene.	Nemea.	Cyparissa.
Elis.	Cheronæa.	Tanagra.	Abdera.
Pisa.	Ægina.	Ambracia.	Hermione.

In Asia we find :

Sardis.	Tralles.	Temnos.	Amida.
Ephesus.	Ancyra.	Methymna.	Chimæra.
Smyrna.	Ikonium.	Rithymna.	Cebrene.
Miletus.	Priene.	Cnidos.	Patara.
Phoea.	Abydos.	Cyzicus.	Mygdala.
Mytilene.	Lebedus.	Gortyna.	Azani.
Rhodes.	Colophon.	Comana.	Adana.
Tarsos.	Amasia.	Idalæa.	Amathus.

We recognise in Italy :

Rome.	Gabii.	Tusculum.	Camerinum.
Pisa.	Veii.	Telamo.	Croton.
Sena.	Tarquini.	Cære.	Misenum.
Parma.	Catana.	Aquileia.	Arretia.
Verona.	Mazara.	Lavinium.	Cannæ.
Syracusa.	Ancona.	Genua.	Regillum.
Capua.	Nuceria.	Ariminium.	Caudium.
Mantua.	Cremona.	Bergomum.	Eugube.
Mutina.	Assissium.	Fidenæ.	Reate.
Bononia.	Patavium.	Nomentum.	Clusium.
Massa.	Cortona.	Amiternum.	Marnia.
Luna.	Sybaris.	Stabiæ.	Puteoli.

In Spain we may select :

Gades.	Mentesa.	Equabona.	Vergilium.
Hispalis.	Barcine.	Telobis.	Subur.
Hippo.	Carbula.	Egelasta.	Araceli.
Bætulo.	Salmantika.	Ossonoba.	Olcades.
Carthago.	Laminium.	Colippo.	Gebala.
Sarteia.	Astapa.	Talamina.	Salacia.
Tarraga.	Toletum.	Turbula.	Spartavia.
Mago.	Myrtilis.	Roboretum.	Onoba.
Castulo.	Basilippo.	Scalabis.	Bedunia.
Gerunda.	Nardinium.		

Thus the most ancient seats of civilisation, and many great cities of this day, are included in our list.

If the Canaanite serves as a test for the other regions, and enables us to ascertain what are radicals and what terminals, and to decide in the essential characteristics, it follows in the concrete that the other transliterations give the like aid for Canaanite. Thus the names of Etruria, Armenia, or Hellas become criteria for Palestine, to decide what is Caucasian and Canaanite, and what is Hebrew.

If the names of Etruria or Attica are taken, the Canaanite canon will assist in their decipherment, as they in return throw light on the names of Canaan.

The proofs above given are purely philological, but they point to material results. If, for instance, there was at one time a population in Canaan, a population in Kholkis, one in Lydia, another in Bœotia, one in Etruria, and a population in Lusitania, using the same language in the same way for naming their towns, then there must in all these regions have been populations using not only the same language, but the same mythology and the same arts. Their rude stone monuments, their castles, their citadels, their town-walls, gates, foundations, sewers, tombs, arms, utensils, would present points of resemblance and comparisons as assured as those to be found in the community of words.

Thus the exploration of Palestine under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, if pushed far enough, and deep

enough, and if adequately supported by contributions, must throw the greatest light on the archæology of Asia and Europe. The Bible tells us that the Israelites invaded a settled population holding walled cities, and, as it is here proved, those cities were built by the same ruling race as that which raised the walled cities of Caria, Attica, and Latium, so will the exploration of Palestine be effectually a classic exploration, as well as sacred, and as much as if conducted *in situ* in Caria, Arcadia, Apulia, or Hispania Tarraconensis.

In the case of Hellenic exploration, we are confused as to what is Cyclopean, Pelasgian, or Hellenic; in Etruria, we hardly know what is indigenous and what is posterior; in megalithic monuments we look for the Druidic, but in Palestine we are free from these sources of confusion. There we shall not be disturbed by Leleges, Pelasgi, Hellenes, Sabini, Iberi, Celtiberi, or Druids. We have one danger, that of distinguishing between what is Phœnician of the Caucasian period, and what is Phœnician of the Semitic period; but altogether we have less confusing elements.

With regard to Spain, it is already evident that the conclusions of Wm. Von Humboldt with regard to the Iberians must be materially modified. The important discovery of that philosopher of the relation between ancient local names in Spain and modern Basque gave us a Turanian population as an element in ancient Europe, but the value of that element was exaggerated by himself and by others, and, among these, by myself in my paper on the Iberians in Asia Minor. It appeared to follow from Von Humboldt's discovery that all which was not apparently Celtic or presumed Phœnician or Carthaginian in Spain must be Iberian. One serious consequence of this assumption was that names in Italy, Hellas, etc., resembling those in Spain, were held to be Iberian and evidence of an Iberian population in those countries. It also followed that the ancient civilisation was considered to be Iberian. From the Canaanite test it appears that terms in Spain having Basque affinities are not Iberian in this sense, and many others supposed to be Iberian are not so.

Astura, a name found in Spain and Italy, is one of the strong points of the system of Von Humboldt (see his "Researches on the Primitive Inhabitants of Spain"), and yet his derivation of *Astura* from *asta*, rock, and *ura*, water, as signifying "Rockwater," is most suspicious. *Astura* is, however, by all linguistic evidence, the analogue of *Ashteroth* and *Beeshterah* in Palestine, and consequently not only of *Astura* in Latium, of *Astura* in Mysia, but of a dozen names of allied form scattered over the ancient world. *Astura*, too, as a river name, is not dependent on the Basque *ura*, water, but is formed from a radical *DRS*, as the town names are. *Asta*, another key of his system, is not formed from *asta*, a rock, but is a recognisable Caucasian town name. It is Palestine which affords the touchstone in these cases. We may pause as to *Astura* and *Asta* in the European peninsulas, but we have no Basque influence to disturb our opinions in Palestine. It follows as a remote consequence, even with regard to the population of Britain, that besides the Iberian element which has been recognised in the *Silures* and in Western Ireland, there must have been an anterior population of the same alliance as the *Canaanite*. At the same time there must have been river, and possibly town, names *Vasco-Kolarian* and *Agaw*.

It is thus the connection of archæological science, as of physical science, and of all science, extends to the remotest consequences, and the displacement of one atom will immediately and ultimately affect others. Indeed, so far as concerns ourselves, it is within the limits of probability that the present expeditions to Palestine and explorations in the Mediterranean lands may throw a light on the megalithic monuments of Britain, and on the gold ornaments of *Hibernia*. Earlier inscriptions, in characters as yet unrecognised, may yet reward the explorer, and consolidate and harmonise the relics of ancient history.

The *Accad* cities mentioned in the Bible, in *Genesis* x. 10, 11, 12, besides *Babel*, *Accad*, and *Rehoboth*, are :

		America.
Erech,	compare	Arica, Peru.
Calneh,	"	Calapoche (Peru), Oculan.
Ninue or Nineveh,	"	Unanue, Peru.
Calah,	"	Colacote, "
Resen,	"	Charasani, "

Many cities in Palestine are closely represented in America.

A circumstance worthy of remark, and which may indicate Sumerian influence in Brazil, if not that the Sumerians had settlements there, is that the Guarani word for town is *Taba*, that is *Tabæ*, *Thebes*, etc., of geography, the *Daba* of the present Georgians. If the Sumerians had at any time a settlement on the great river-mouths, the passage of the Atlantic would be credible, and the knowledge of the Atlantic Ocean by the geographers of Pergamos and Babylonia accounted for.

Under this head of topographical nomenclature, as just stated, a course of investigation is being pursued by the Rev. Professor John Campbell, which can be consulted with great advantage.

In the *Canadian Journal*, and under the titles of the "Horites," and of "The Shepherd Kings of Egypt," Professor Campbell has adopted as his basis the genealogies of the Books of Genesis, Kings, and Chronicles. With the help of the Egyptian and classic data, he has brought to bear a flood of light upon the Sumerian epoch of civilisation with regard to the genesis and migration of nations, and the mythology of the period. All tends to illustrate the importance of the protohistoric era.

Much of his work is necessarily tentative, and although there are few illustrations with regard to America, these memoirs can be profitably consulted by the investigator, in common with those of Lenormant and the Egyptologists. Of course in Bryant, and some of the old mythologists, many of the collateral facts may be found, but treated in a manner incompatible with our present knowledge.

As to the ancient extent of the Sumerian region in America,

it cannot yet be determined, for it must have been wider than at the Spanish Conquest; but with regard to the names here given for the new world and the old, it must be borne in mind that some are Agaw, and extend into Brazil. The consideration of the Brazilian river names gives us a test in relation to those of Europe, and they confirm the opinion I have given of an Agaw influence in Canaan, in Asia, and in Europe, anterior to the Sumerian, and which will have to be taken into account by the craniologist. He has to provide for the Vasco-Kolarian, the Agaw, and the Sumerian migrations.

The whole of the phenomena of man in America represent an arrested development of civilisation, cut short as compared with Europe and Asia, not by climate as in Africa, and yet quite sufficient to include the two epochs of great stone monuments, and of palatial works with inscriptions—epochs which embraced the first spiritualised religion, that of the worship of light; a time of thousands of years so remote, that, in the old world, it has now only its scanty votaries among the Parsees of Bombay; time, too, so remote, that the great religions of the globe—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—had, with Buddhism, got time to expand and to cover the eastern hemisphere, while, until the Spanish Conquest, the Americans had, in the flux of centuries, never heard their revelations. Few things so strongly portray the deep, dark gulf of separation as this, when associations which had been commonly shared from the beginning of mankind, were snapped in the time of their deepest interest and moment, and it was hazard, rather than the design of man, placed the Indians that perished and the Indians who have survived under the teaching of the missionaries of Spain and Portugal, and which all have not yet known.

The evidence of language comes in support of this arrest of development, for there are no languages in America of the later and higher forms. When the early Akkad stopped there, all stopped. This it is which gives the false impression of there being a peculiar and special American grammar. This

has been so specially studied and treated, whereas, the languages in America, which cannot be rightly called American languages, are under the same conditions of prehistoric grammar as the eastern languages of the old world. The grammar of Omagua may be as truly called Caucasian as American, and, if we choose, that of Abkhas might be as rightly named American as Caucasian.

As there was in the furthest or prehistoric days a stream of emigration continuously from the old world to the new, the question arises whether this set back again, and whether a knowledge of the new world was carried to the old.

The first set of population appears to have been over Behring's Straits, or across the narrow seas, and migrations which could cover the eastern world, even with Akkas and Bushmen, from Lapland to South Africa, would be able to fill America from the snowy pole to Tierra del Fuego, as there is witness enough to show, in blood, in speech, and in folk-lore.

It is very questionable whether at any time there was regular intercourse over the Atlantic, for that would have needed ships; and a trade once set up, other animals besides dogs, and other plants than those now found, would have followed man.

In what we know of the historical period under the Greeks and the Romans a lively knowledge of America was lost. The Greeks could not reach it from the west, and the Romans, when they settled on the shores of the Atlantic, had other cares than to risk the wide, dark sea.

A dead knowledge lingered, not only of the geography of the Americas, but of Australasia, which is of no less interest with regard to the latter region, because that exhibits, philologically, evidence of early migrations of the Mincopie or Pygmean in Borneo, of the Sandeh or Niam-Niam of the Nile in Tasmania, and of the Agaw in Galela, and in the other languages recorded by Wallace.

There was indeed a system of geography long prevalent among the ancients, and in the dark ages, which is referred to in the *Timæus* of Plato, and was notably maintained by

Crates of Pergamos, 160 B.C. (Reinaud, *Journal Asiatique*, vol. i., new series, 1863, p. 140), and also referred to by Virgil in the *Æneid*. Four inhabited worlds were treated of, and there appears to have been, in traditions, an imperial title of Monarch of the Four Worlds. This I connect with the statement of Mr George Smith, that Agu, an ancient King of Babylonia, called himself King of the Four Races. Again, with Prescott, who, in the "Conquest of Peru," book i., ch. ii., says: "It is certain that the natives had no other epithet by which to designate the large collection of tribes and nations who were assembled under the empire of the Incas than that of Tavintinsuzu, or Four Quarters of the World." He quotes Ondegarde, "Rel. Prim. MSS.," and Garcilasse, "Comentarie Real," ii. 11. This title was perhaps a prerogative of the middle king, or monarch of the middle kingdom of the great civilised empire of the world. The Chinese preserve the tradition of the middle kingdom, the trinary having followed the quaternary system. Thus in Genesis there are three sons of Noah. The Vedas refer to three worlds.

The nomenclature of Ptolemy and the other geographers is of the Akkad epoch, and that of the early Biblical books Akkad or Babylonian.

The school of Pergamos taught that the world, which must have been treated as a sphere, contained four worlds. Ours was one of these; and as is true in Asia that it does not cross the line, so it was supposed that Africa does not cross the line, and the Babylonian geographers were well acquainted with Southern Asia but not with Southern Africa. This northern world was balanced by an austral world, and this is so, depicting thereby the Australasian Islands, the scene of Sumerian migrations, and Australia, which was known to them. Australia was, by the Sumerians, as by far later geographers, supposed to extend from opposite Asia, as a *terra incognita* of the maps, to opposite Africa.

A not less remarkable affirmation was, that the northern world and that of Australia were balanced on the other side of the globe also by a northern world and continent, and

by a southern world, and this is so in North and South America.

It was said, being nigh the truth, that these four worlds were cut off by belts of ocean, one running from north to south, and by another running round the middle of the world from east to west. Such ocean we know shuts off Asia from Australia; and those ancients might be forgiven who drew a sea over the narrow necks between North and South America, which must then as now have been passed by canoes at portages on the Atrato and on other rivers.

These four worlds were alleged to have their men, as we know they had and have; but to account, amid so much truth, for intercourse not taking place between them in their days, a fable was got up that the seas were made impassable. The philosophers, however, forgot to tell us how the knowledge of these other worlds and the men in them was gained. Gained too, it was, and lost by the cessation of intercourse, after the Sumerians, with the Americas. This was perhaps owing to the rise of a great power in China, which disturbed the road from India, and the seats of kingdom in Southern Asia.

How that dream of a true globe and its continents and people reached the Greeks and Romans, and how it suggested to the flatterers of Augustus a title of monarch of those four worlds, is here accounted for. It must be traced beyond Pergamos to those older schools of learning, known to us under such a name as Chaldean, but which had flourished in proto-historic epochs from the dawn of civilisation.

There must at one time have been in the olden world men who could bring back this knowledge of the Americas from their Nineveh to its Nineveh and Babel, where the empire of the four worlds got centred, and where one language was spoken and written for the government of the earth. How truly was it then said of Babel, "And the whole earth was of one language and one speech" (Gen. xi. 1).

The fall of that power was indeed confusion of nations and of tongues. After a time the tradition alone of these other worlds lingered as a theory of cosmography.

Attached to an ancient map of the world accompanying the Commentary of Bicetus on the Apocalypse, and which may date from the eighth century or an earlier period, is a note. This note, inserted in the south of the map, observes that, independently of the three points of the known world, there is beyond the ocean a fourth part, which is unknown to us, on account of the heat of the sun, and on the confines of which, it is fabled, adds the author, that there are antipodes.*

The tradition lingered, to be condemned by the Christian Church as a thing that men of learning ought not to learn, but reproduced in our own language by Sir John Mandeville. He insisted that the world was a globe and could be circumnavigated, and he tells a tale of a man from Norway, who had gone so long by land and sea that he had environed all the earth, that he was come about to his own marches.

The intercourse in times of yore between the new world and the old, now again brought to light, rests upon no slight evidence, although the whole of it cannot be included here. It comes in confirmation of the labours of those who have gone before me, and of my own, carried on step by step for some time.†

APPENDIX I.

The river names, as already stated, are most probably not Sumerian, but possibly Agaw or Vasco-Kolarian. It is, however, useful to examine them, as showing the identity of precedent migrations and languages in the two hemispheres.

The following shows the river names of New Granada in comparison with India and Italy (Etruria):

New Granada.	India, etc.	Italy, etc.
Cane, . . .	Cainas, . . .	.....
Guayabera, . .	Chaberis, . . .	.....
Guape, . . .	Kophos, . . .	.....

* Article of my friend Mons. E. Cortambert, quoted in *Nature*, Jan. 11, 1877, p. 235.

† See various papers of mine in the Journals of the Ethnological Society, of the Anthropological Institute, of the Palestine Exploration Fund, etc.

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New Granada.	India, etc.	Italy, etc.
Cusiana,	Acesines,	Casuentus.
Catarumbo,	Catabeda,
Cibao, . . . .	.....	Gabellas.
Garigoa,	Gouraios, . . . .	.....
Cauca,	Cacathis,	Caicus, A. Minor.
Ite, . . . .	.....	Utis.
Humedea,	Namadas, . . . .	.....
Lengupa, . . . .	.....	Longinus.
Ariguani,	[Rhogomanus, Persia],	Rigonum.
Meta,	Andomatis,	Medoakus.
Margua,	[Margus, Margiana],	Nikia, Nato.
Nachi, . . . .	.....	Nar, Nure.
Nare, . . . .	.....	Anapus.
Napipi, . . . .	.....	[Enipeus, Macedonia].
Neusa, . . . .	.....	Anassos.
Upia, . . . .	.....	[Nessos, Macedonia].
Paute,	Spauto (lake),	[Abus, Britain].
Togui,	Tokosanna,	Padus.
Tamar,	Tamarus,	[Boetis, Spain].
Tachira,	[Tamyrus, Syria],	Togisonus.
Tiguanaqui, . . . .	.....	Tamarus.
Tumila, . . . .	.....	[Tamaros, Britain].
Onzaga, . . . .	.....	Ticarios.
Zulia, . . . .	.....	Digentia.
Suta,	Sadus, . . . .	.....
Sarare,	Serus,	Sekies.
Suarez,	Sarabis,	Silis, Silarus.
Sisigua,	Suasius, . . . .	.....
Semindoco,	Tokosanna,	Sarius.
Sumapia, . . . .	.....	Siris.
Sichiaca,	Sittokakis,	Æsurus.
Sube,	Sobanus,	Sossius.
Sinu,	Sapara, . . . .	.....
	Sonus,	Sumathus, Sicily.
		Sekies.
		Sabis.
		[Asopus, Greece].
		Sinnus.
		Asinarus, Sicily.
		[Sonus, Hibernia].

Other river names are :

America.	India and East.	West.
Caca, Bolivia,	Cacathis, I.,	Caicus, A. Minor.
Cachy, Peru, . . . .	.....	Caicinus, Italy.
Chira, Peru, . . . .	.....	Cæcina, Italy.
Curaray, Peru, . . . .	.....	Akiris, Italy.
Aguan, C. America,	Kainas, I., . . . .	.....
Ulua, C. America, . . . .	.....	Ollius, Italy.
Guapai, Bolivia,	Kophos, I.,	Gabellus, Italy.
Montagua, C. America, . . . .	.....	Mitua, Macedonia.
Mira, Ecuador, . . . .	.....	Modoacus, Italy.
Marona, Ecuador, . . . .	.....	Merula, Italy.
		Himera, Sicily.

America.	India and East.	West.
Mayo (river name), Peru,		
Mexico,	Mais, I., . . . .	.....
Mantaro, Peru,	Manda, I.,	Munda, Spain.
Mapiri, Bolivia,	Mophs, I., . . . .	.....
Lempa, C. America,	Lombare, I.,	Lambrus, Italy.
Lacantum, C. America, . . . .	.....	Alukus, Italy.
		Helicon, Italy.
Nasas, Mexico, . . . .	.....	Anassus, Italy.
Nape, Ecuador, . . . .	.....	Anapus, Sicily.
		Enipeus, Macedonia.
Pita, Ecuador,	Catabeda, I., extra,	Padus, Italy.
Piti, Mexico, . . . .	.....	Boetia, Spain.
Putu (mayo), Ecuador,	Spauto (lake),	Pitanus, Corsica.
Panuco, Mexico, . . . .	.....	[Benacus (lake), Italy N.].
Babo, Ecuador, . . . .	.....	Bæbe (lake), Greece.
Babispe, Mexico, . . . .	.....	Fevos, Italy.
Paso (mayo), Peru,	Hyphasis, India,	Pæsus, A. Minor.
	Phasis, Colchia, . . . .	.....
Yapura, Ecuador, . . . .	.....	Hipparis, Italy.
Rimac, Peru, . . . .	.....	Rubiko, Italy.
Arispe, Mexico,	Zariaspis, Bactriano, . . . .	.....
Sirama, C. America,	Serus, India,	Siris, Italy.
Ohosura, Mexico, . . . .	.....	Æsurus, Italy.
Samala, C. America,	Sabalaessa, India, . . . .	.....
Sintalapa, C. America,	Sandabalus, India,	Sontinus, Italy.
Usumasinta, Mexico, . . . .	.....	Ossa, Italy.
Sumbay, Peru,	Sambus, I., . . . .	.....
Zacatula, Mexico, . . . .	.....	Sekies, Italy.
		Tolenus, Italy.
Tepitapa, C. America,	Attabas, I.,	Tobios, Britain.
Tabasquillo, Mexico,	Tava, I.,	Tavis, Italy.
Tambo, Peru, . . . .	.....	Timavus, Italy.
Tula, Mexico, . . . .	.....	Tolenus, Italy.
Dauli, Ecuador, . . . .	.....	Tilurus, Illyria.
Tamoin, Mexico,	Temala, I., extra,	Tamion, Britain.
Yavari, Peru,	Chaberis, India, . . . .	.....
Ica, Peru, . . . .	.....	Axios, Macedonia.
Huasa, Peru, . . . .	.....	Æsis, Italy.

With regard to lake names, they appear to be related to river names :

America—Lakes.	Old World—(R.) River.
Parras, Mexico,	Prasias, Thessaly; Prasiane, India W.
Patzcuaro, Mexico,	Gouraios (R.), India.
Chapala, Mexico,	Copais, Boetia.
Fuquene, Mexico,	Fucinus, Italy, Sabine.
Peten, Central America,	Pitanus (R.), Corsica.
Amatitan, Central America,	Andomatis (R.), India.
Tamiagua, Mexico,	Tamion (R.), Britain.
Titicaca, Peru,	Caicus (R.), A. Minor; [Cacathis (R.), India.
Chinchaycocha, Peru,	Cainas (R.), India.

The identifications of Fuquene and Peten are striking.

In the reduction of mountain names very little fortune has ever

attended me. The cause appears to be that few are Sumerian, that some are Agaw, and that some are most likely older.

America.	Old World.
Cotopaxi, Ecuador,	Cottia, Alpes.
Cotocha,	Pactyas.
Sangay, Ecuador,	Syngaras, Mesopotamia.
Tancitaro, Mexico,	Cithæron, Greece.
Orizava, Mexico,	Oropeda, Spain.
Apanecas, Central America,	Pangæus, Macedonia.
Assuay, Ecuador,	Ossa, Greece.
Pulla, Ecuador,	Pelion, Greece.
Ambato, Ecuador,	Idubeda, Spain.
	Boetios, Drangiana.
Atitlan, Central America,	Ceta, Athos, Greece.
	Ida, Asia Minor, etc.
Alausi, Ecuador,	Alesion, Greece; Olgassys, Asia Minor.
Pasto, Ecuador,	Phœstus, Greece.
Perote, Mexico,	Pierius, Greece.
Merendon, Central America,	Maro, Sicily.
Cadlud, Ecuador,	Cadmus.

Some of these must be identical, but many are doubtful.

The town names are, however, those which are of most value for our purposes, as many of these are evidently Sumerian (* marks resemblance):

Peru.	Mexico and Central America.	Old World.
*Arica,		*Arakha, Susiana.
*Recuay,		Arakhosia, Persia.
Urcum,		Arikaka, Arakhosia.
"		Araxa, Lycia.
"		*Erech, Accad (Bible).
"		*Rechah (Bible).
"		Aricada, Drangiana.
Arequipa,		Aragorasa, Armenia.
"		Archabios, Colchis.
"		Arukanda, Lycia.
"		Argos, Greece.
*Arapa,	*Trapuata, Mexico,	*Arubath (Bible).
"	Rabin, Central America,	Arabissus, Cappadocia.
"		Arbaka, Arakhosia.
Yura,	Yoro, Central America,	Ora, India E.
Huaura,		
*Oruro,	Ariare (R.), Central America,	*Oruras, A. Minor.
"	Arispe (R.), Central America,	Zariaspes (R.), Bactriana.
Astobamba,	Iztapalapan, Mexico,	*Hasta, Liguria.
*Huasta,		Asta, Liguria, and Lusitania.
"		Ashdod (Bible).
"		Astasanna, Aria.
"		Asthagura, India E.
"		Astakapra, India E.
Ambato (M.),	Ambalema, New Granada,	
*Acoramba,		*Corombo (R.), Carmania.
Illampe (M.),		Cosamba, India S.
Cosapa,	*Cosuma, Yucatan,	*Cosamba, India S.
Casma,		

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Peru.	Mexico and Central America.	Old World.
Cuzmo,
*Chosica, . . .	*Cuisco, Mexico, . . .	*Cuzikos, A. Minor.
*Cuzco, . . .	Chuscal, New Granada, . . .	*Gauzaka, Paropamisada.
Quisco, . . .	.....	Choastra, Media.
Congata, . . .	Concanu, Yucatan, . . .	Concana, Spain.
Canchari, . . .	Conagua, New Granada, . . .	Iconium, A. Minor.
Chanca, . . .	Conchagua, Central America, . . .	Xoana, India.
Conongo, . . .	.....	Gain, Palestine.
Acañ, . . .	.....	Aquinium, Italy.
Quinoa, . . .	.....	.....
*Cacary, . . .	Cacahuamilpa, Mexico, . . .	*Acharacha, Caria.
Caquiaviria, . . .	Chiquisa, New Granada, . . .	Gaggra, Paphlagonia.
.....	.....	Gagasmira, India E.
Chiclayo, . . .	Cochilha, New Granada, . . .	Cocala, India S.
*Chepen, . . .	*Copan, Central America, . . .	*Cabena, Media.
.....	*Coban, Guatemala, . . .	*Capena, Etruria.
.....	.....	*Cabbon, Palestine.
.....	.....	Cepiana, Lusitania.
.....	Caparrapi, New Granada, . . .	Caberasa, Media.
.....	*Chipata, New Granada, . . .	Capution, Sicily.
.....	.....	*Gibbenth, Palestine.
*Chipaya, . . .	*Kabah, Yucatan, . . .	Cuba, India S.
.....	Chepo, New Granada, . . .	*Capua, Italy.
.....	.....	*Gaba, Palestine.
.....	.....	Gabii, Italy.
.....	*Chapala, Mexico, . . .	*Capula, Venetia.
.....	*Chapul, Mexico, . . .	Cubilia, Lycia.
.....	Acapulco, Mexico, . . .	.....
.....	.....	*Cabale, Media.
.....	.....	Cabul, Palestine.
Talcanta, . . .	Cundinamarca, New Granada, . . .	Conta, India E.
.....	.....	Aricanda, A. Minor.
Quillo, . . .	*Akil, Yucatan, . . .	*Aquilaia, Italy.
.....	Chollolan, Mexico, . . .	.....
.....	.....	Kaloe, Lydia.
.....	.....	Keilah, Palestine.
.....	.....	Agylla, Etruria.
.....	.....	Akela, Media.
.....	.....	*Chalcis, Boeotia.
Chilca, . . .	.....	Gilgal, Palestine.
Quellca, . . .	*Chalco, Mexico, . . .	.....
Colca, . . .	Chalcicomula, Mexico, . . .	*Colossai, Phrygia.
.....	*Colosa, New Granada, . . .	Akalissos, Pontus.
.....	Chalisco, Mexico, . . .	*Cume, Mysia.
*Chumu, . . .	Comayagua, Honduras, . . .	*Cumæ, Italy.
*Caime, . . .	*Cuame, New Granada, . . .	Choma, Pisidia.
.....	Chima, New Granada, . . .	*Cambe, Gedrosia.
*Cambe, . . .	.....	.....
Combapata, . . .	.....	*Cocambo, Gedrosia.
Chicamo, . . .	*Cucumba, New Granada, . . .	*Comania, Caria.
*Camana, . . .	.....	*Comana, Pontus, and Capp.
*Guamani, . . .	*Guaman, Mexico, . . .	Cominium, Samnium.
.....	.....	Chemosh (Bible).
.....	Guaymas, . . .	Gimza (Bible).
.....	.....	Camisa, Cappadocia.
*Chimeroo, . . .	.....	*Kimara, India E.
*Catari, . . .	*Chatura, New Granada, . . .	*Cyturus, Armenia.

Peru.	Mexico and Central America.	Old World.
*Catari, . . .	*Cadereita, Mexico, . . .	*Coddura, India S.
" . . .	Catarumbo (R.), New Granada, . . .	Cottiana, India S.
" . . .	.....	Cotuora, Pontus.
Quito, . . .	*Cuaita, New Granada, . . .	Kattah, Palestine.
*Coati, . . .	Oicata, New Granada, . . .	*Cuta, Colchis.
" . . .	.....	*Caudium, Sabine.
*Chatuna, . . .	.....	*Catana, Sicily.
*Costaparaca, . . .	.....	*Cotobara, India S.
Costabamba, . . .	.....	*Cottobara, Gedrosia.
Curaray, (R.), . . .	*Carere (R.), New Granada, . . .	*Careura, Caria, and India.
*Ocaruro, . . .	.....	.....
" . . .	Charala, New Granada, . . .	Curula, India S.
*Charasani, . . .	.....	*Caresena, Mysia.
Charcani, . . .	Chiriguana, New Granada, . . .	Corcobana, Ceylon.
*Chuana, . . .	Chanaco, Mexico, . . .	Kanah, Palestine.
" . . .	Canipauna, New Granada, . . .	Kana, Mysia.
" . . .	Cunacua, New Granada, . . .	Kœne, Cappadocia.
" . . .	.....	*Canagara, India S.
*Caracona, . . .	.....	*Aganagara, India extra.
" . . .	.....	Khoana, Parthia.
Ocona, . . .	Ocansip, Yucatan, . . .	Aganagara, India extra.
*Ascona, . . .	.....	*Ôskana, Gedrosia.
" . . .	.....	*Assecona, Spain.
*Acora, . . .	.....	*Acarra, Susiana.
*Acari, . . .	.....	*Achor, Palestine.
Acoramba, . . .	.....	*Cora, Lalutus.
Corocuero, . . .	.....	Agiria, Spain.
*Ancon, . . .	.....	*Ancona, Italy.
Hancane, . . .	.....	.....
*Colan, . . .	Calan, Yucatan, . . .	Calneh, Accad (Bible).
" . . .	.....	*Gelan, Palestine.
Calanacoche, . . .	.....	Calindoca, India S.
*Calasnique, . . .	.....	Calinaxa, India S.
" . . .	*Oculan, Mexico, . . .	Okelum, Lusitania.
" . . .	.....	Akelanum, Sabine.
Cailloma, . . .	Caluma, Ecuador, . . .	Gallim, Palestine.
Calupe, . . .	Jalapa, Mexico and C. Amer., . . .	Calpe (M).
Challapa, . . .	Jutigalpac, America, . . .	.....
Ocharan, . . .	.....	Haran (Bible).
" . . .	*Garupa, New Granada, . . .	Acharna, Attica.
Caropango, . . .	*Labna, Yucatan, . . .	*Gariphus, India.
Llapo, . . .	*Labhakhapha, Yucatan, . . .	*Labbana, Mesopotamia.
" . . .	.....	*Labaca, India S.
Lambayeque, . . .	Lampa, Salvador, . . .	Alambatesa, Comaria.
Illampo (M.), . . .	Liborina, New Granada, . . .	Lampsacus, A. Minor.
" . . .	.....	Lombare, India.
Larecaja, . . .	.....	Lariaga, India E.
Mantaro, . . .	Huamantla, Mexico, . . .	Mendola, India S.
*Manani, . . .	Mani, Yucatan, . . .	*Maniena, India E.
Mani, . . .	.....	Amana, Media.
Mirinavis, . . .	Merindon, Honduras, . . .	Morunda, Media.
Marona, . . .	.....	.....
Machurana, . . .	Macaranita, New Granada, . . .	Magaris, India S.
" . . .	Mogorontoque, New Granada, . . .	Mogarus, Pontus.
" . . .	.....	Makrasa, Lycia.
*Macari, . . .	.....	*Megara, Gr., Sicily.
" . . .	Mozca, Mexico, . . .	Maxere, Hyrcania.

Peru.	Mexico and Central America.	Old World.
*Macari, . . .	Mescala, Mexico, . . .	.....
" . . .	*Mogote, New Granada, . . .	Maguda, Mesopotamia.
*Malla, . . .	.....	*Mala, Pontus.
" . . .	.....	Millo, Palestine.
Amiloe, . . .	.....	Amilos, Arcadia.
Mantaro, . . .	.....	Manda, India.
*Marcara, . . .	.....	*Margara, India E.
*Marcomarani, . . .	Cundinamarca, . . .	*Margana, Ceylon.
" . . .	.....	Maricada, Bactriana.
" . . .	*Margua (R.), New Granada, . . .	*Margus (R.), Margiane.
" . . .	*Masaya, Yucatan, . . .	*Massah, Palestine.
" . . .	.....	*Amasia, Pontus.
*Masin, . . .	.....	*Messana, Sicily.
" . . .	.....	Messene, Greece.
*Mapiri (R.), . . .	.....	*Mapura (R.), India.
*Napo, . . .	*Neyba, New Granada, . . .	*Nebo (Bible).
" . . .	.....	Nebah (Bible).
" . . .	.....	*Nepea, Phrygia.
*Nasca, . . .	.....	*Nasica, India S.
Nanasca, . . .	*Nunkini, Yucatan, . . .	*Nanaguna, India S.
" . . .	Nicaragua, C. America, . . .	Nuceria (?), Italy.
" . . .	.....	Anaguros, Greece.
" . . .	Nimaima, New Granada, . . .	Nommana, Carmania.
" . . .	Nare, . . .	Nar, Italy.
" . . .	.....	Anara, India S.
*Unanue, . . .	.....	*Ninue, Nineveh.
" . . .	.....	(Accad) Bible.
" . . .	Oiba, New Granada, . . .	Ophia, Sabine.
" . . .	Upia, . . .	Aphia, Phrygia.
(Pucara, Castle), . . .	.....	[cara, castle, Akkad].
*Pucara, . . .	*Bucaramanga, New Granada, . . .	*Begorra, Macedonia.
*Pucala, . . .	.....	*Pygela, Ionia.
" . . .	.....	Pegella, Lycaonia.
Azangari, . . .	.....	Agara, Susiana.
" . . .	.....	" India S.
Patapa, . . .	[Patawi, Siam], . . .	Patavium, Bithynia.
Patavilca, . . .	.....	" Italy.
Pataz, . . .	.....	.....
*Paita, . . .	Pauta, New Granada, . . .	*Bata, India S.
Ayapata, . . .	*Pitu, Mexico, . . .	Beda, Mesopotamia.
*Pita, . . .	Peto, Yucatan, . . .	*Pida, Pontus.
Putu, . . .	*Ubate, New Granada, . . .	*Eboda, Palestine.
" . . .	.....	Pitucia, Mysia.
" . . .	.....	Phauda, Pontus.
*Putina, . . .	*Peten, Yucatan, . . .	*Pitane, Mysia.
" . . .	Potonchan, Yucatan, . . .	*Padua, Palestine.
" . . .	.....	Bitocana, Caria.
Piura, . . .	Perote, Mexico, . . .	Pieria, Greece.
Yapura, . . .	.....	" Syria.
" . . .	.....	Phiarasa, Pontus.
*Pitura, . . .	*Paturia, New Granada, . . .	*Patara, Lycia.
" . . .	Necopetara, Mexico, . . .	Badara, Carnithia.
" . . .	.....	Sobatra, Lycaonia.
" . . .	*Zupetara, C. America, . . .	*Opetura, India.
" . . .	Sopetran, New Granada, . . .	.....
*Paria, . . .	*Para, . . .	*Parium.
" . . .	Paracheque, . . .	Pyrria, Caria.

Peru.	Mexico and Central America.	Old World.
*Paria, . . .	Ibarra, Ecuador, . . .	Birei, Palestine.
Parara, . . .	.....	Podoperura, India extra.
Pararin, . . .	.....	.....
" . . .	Parras, Mexico, . . .	Parisara, India extra.
" . . .	*Barichara, New Granada	*Barakura, India extra.
*Parac, . . .	Parachoque, " . . .	*Berachah, Palestine.
Cotaparaco, . . .	.....	Pharugia, Doris.
Pariache, . . .	.....	Verrugo, Latium.
Pariacote, . . .	.....	Barkine, Spain.
Paruchay, . . .	.....	.....
Puno, . . .	.....	*Punon, Palestine.
*Punyon, . . .	.....	Panion, Thessaly.
Panos, . . .	.....	.....
Pando, . . .	.....	Pandassa, India extra.
*Papai, . . .	*Paipa, New Granada, . . .	*Papha, Pisidia.
Babo, . . .	.....	*Paphos, Cyprus.
*Pusi, . . .	.....	*Pisæ (3).
Puzuzi, . . .	.....	*Paseah, Palestine.
*Pasa (mayo) . . .	.....	*Ephesus, A. Minor.
Pisagua, . . .	.....	*Phoizoi, Arcadia.
(Pirca, Quichua, wall, enclo- sure), . . .	.....	Pergamos.
" . . .	.....	Perga, Pamphylia.
" . . .	.....	Pyrgæ, Etruria.
*Pomalca, . . .	*Paime, New Granada, . . .	*Bamala, India S.
Pichigun, . . .	Bogota, " . . .	*Apamea, Parthia.
Puquien, . . .	Pachuco, Mexico, . . .	Phecis, Greece.
Pacas (mayo), . . .	.....	Phokaia, Lydia.
Palalayuca, . . .	.....	Pauka, Italy.
" . . .	Bolonchan, Yucatan, . . .	Palalke, Pontus.
" . . .	.....	Bolon, Spain.
*Pasco, . . .	Tobasco, Yucatan, . . .	Pelon, Palestine.
*Posco, . . .	.....	*Boskath, Palestine.
*Pisco, . . .	.....	Bezék, Palestine.
Piscachacha, . . .	.....	*Phuska, Macedonia.
Pacsi, . . .	.....	*Physkus, Caria.
*Pista, . . .	*Piste, Yucatan, . . .	Paxos (I.).
Arambolu, . . .	*Arama, New Granada, . . .	*Pæstum, Italy.
" . . .	.....	*Aruma (Bible).
" . . .	.....	*Aroma, Caria.
*Racanya, . . .	*Ariguani, New Granada, . . .	Ariminium, Italy.
Tacaraca, . . .	.....	*Rakkon (Bible).
" . . .	.....	*Oricana, Media.
" . . .	Raquira, New Granada, . . .	Arucanda, Lycia.
" . . .	Sinu, " . . .	Aragorasa, Armenia.
" . . .	.....	Sena, Etruria, and Umbria.
" . . .	Sanalarga, New Granada, . . .	Zaananim (Bible).
" . . .	*Sinoloa, Mexico, . . .	Sannala, India E.
" . . .	Sonora, " . . .	.....
" . . .	.....	Posinara, India E.
Aposungo, . . .	Okosingo, Yucatan, . . .	Asinarus, Sicily.
Sangay, . . .	Texancingo, Mexico, . . .	Sangada, India E.
*Charasani, . . .	.....	Sangala, India E.
" . . .	.....	Alosanga, India extra.
Antisana, . . .	.....	Caresena, Mysia.
		Astasanna, Aria.

Peru.	Mexico and Central America.	Old World.
*Sanagoran,	.....	*Suanagora, India extra.
"	*Sonsonate, S. Salvador,	*Sansannah (Bible).
"	*Tzintzontzon, Mexico,	*Susonnina, Venetia.
"	.....	*Nazianzene, Cappadocia.
"	*Sonson, New Granada,	*Saniseni, Paphlagonia.
"	Site,	Side, Pamphyl., Laconia.
"	Suta,	Sidas, Greece.
"	*Susa,	*Suzah, Palestine.
"	.....	Susa, Susiana.
"	Susagua, New Granada,	Suissa, Cappadocia.
"	.....	Suessa (R.), Italy.
"	.....	Suassus, India.
"	*Susacon, New Granada,	*Susicana, India E.
Soroche,	.....	Syracuse, Sicily.
Surco,	.....	Saraka, Media.
"	.....	Sariga, Armenia.
"	.....	Saruge, A. Minor.
Surata,	Surata, New Granada,	Sarid, Palestine.
"	*Sarare,	*Sarrarra, Mesopotamia.
"	*Sura,	*Saura, Susiana.
"	.....	Saganus, Carmania.
*Sikuani,	.....	*Saguana, Armenia.
"	.....	*Sakoena, Belicia.
"	.....	*Sikuon, Greece.
"	.....	*Saca, Arcadia.
*Succha,	.....	.....
Sachaca,	Sachica, New Granada,	.....
Sacayacu,	Soacha	.....
"	Sacota,	Adisaga, Media.
Sikasika,	Segamoso,	Sakasena, Cappadocia.
"	Fusugasuga,	Zazaka, Media.
"	Zaccacal, Yucatan,	Secacah, Palestine.
Sogon,	.....	Sikinos (I.).
Sechura,	.....	Shicron (Bible).
"	*Salli, Yucatan,	*Sala, Armenia.
"	*Zelaya, Mexico,	*Sela, Palestine.
Sullillica,	Zulia, New Granada,	*Solia, Spain.
"	*Salamo, Guatemala,	*Salamis (?).
"	Salmaguela, New Granada,	*Zalmoneh, Palestine.
"	.....	Salmantike.
Suyana,	*Senote, Yucatan,	Aznoth, Palestine.
"	.....	*Sunnada, Phrygia.
"	Zerna, New Granada,	Sarnuka, Mesopotamia.
"	*Zema,	*Shema (Bible).
"	Zimapan, Mexico,	Ezem (Bible).
"	.....	*Zama, Capp., and Mesopo.
Saman,	Semindoco, New Granada,	Semina, Parthia.
"	*Samala, C. America,	*Simyla, India S.
*Sumbay (R.),	.....	*Sambus (R.), India.
*Supe,	*Saboya, New Granada,	Sabius, Cappadocia.
Monsifu,	*Sube, Suba,	Zaba, India extra.
"	.....	*Zobia, Pisidia.
"	.....	Shebah (Bible).
"	Yzabal, C. America,	Sapolus, India extra.
*Zepita,	.....	*Zephath, Palestine.
Zapatoca,	.....	Sibecla, Lycia.
"	*Zupetara, New Granada,	*Sabatra, Lycaonia.
"	Sopetran,	.....

Peru.	Mexico and Central America.	Old World.
*Atacama, . . . . .	.....	*Attacum, Spain.
Tucuma,	Tocaima, New Granada, . . . . .	.....
*Tauca,	*Togui, "	*Tugea, Spain.
" . . . . .	.....	*Tukki, Spain.
" . . . . .	.....	Athach (Bible).
" . . . . .	.....	*Techoa, Palestine.
"	*Tekoh, Yucatan,	Tegea, Greece.
"	Tacubaya, Mexico,	*Thagora, India extra.
Tacaraca,	*Tachira, New Granada,	*Tagara, India S.
Tuquilion,	Tacaloa, "	Taxila, India E.
"	Tekit,	Attagus, Boeotia.
Tarapaca, . . . . .	.....	Tarrago, Spain.
"	*Tolima, New Granada,	*Telem (Bible).
"	*Toloman, Guatemala,	*Telamo.
"	Tuloom, Yucatan,	*Telamina, Spain.
*Thalambo, . . . . .	.....	*Teleboas, A. Minor.
"	Tulapan,	Tholobona, India S.
Dauli,	Tolla, Mexico, . . . . .	.....
"	Tolo, New Granada, . . . . .	.....
"	Tula, Mexico, . . . . .	.....
"	Tollan, Mexico,	Dolion, Boeotia.
"	Delen, New Granada,	Dolionis, Mysia.
" . . . . .	.....	Tullonium, Spain.
" . . . . .	.....	Dilean, Palestine.
Tarma, . . . . .	.....	Atarmes, Bactriana.
" . . . . .	.....	Tarbakana, Parapanisada.
"	*Tabi, Yucatan,	*Taba, Phrygia, Caria.
"	Teabo, "	Thebæ, Boeotia, Thessaly.
Tabatingo,	Tabeo, New Granada,	Tebbath, Palestine.
Tapacoche,	Tabachula, Guatemala,	Tepuah, Palestine.
"	Tabasquillo, Mexico,	Thebez, Palestine.
*Tipuani,	Tepan, Mexico,	*Tabiene, A. Minor.
"	*Tibaria, New Granada,	*Thebura, Assyria.
"	Tubar, Mexico, . . . . .	.....
"	*Tapata, New Granada,	*Tobata, Paphlagonia.
"	Topia, Mexico, . . . . .	.....
"	Tobasco, Yucatan,	Thapsacus, Syria.
Tuman,	Tamoin, Mexico,	Dimonah (Bible).
" . . . . .	.....	Temani (Bible).
Tumbo,	*Tampico, Mexico,	Tumnos, Caria.
Tambo,	Temisco, "	*Tamassis, India E.
"	*Tamasinchali, Mexico, . . . . .	.....
"	*Tamalameque, New Granada,	*Temala, India extra.
"	Tumila, " . . . . .	.....
"	*Tamar, "	*Tamarus, India.
"	Tanquichi, Mexico,	Taanach (Bible).
"	Tenochtitlan, " . . . . .	.....
"	*Tena, New Granada,	*Toana, India extra.
"	Tizimin, Yucatan,	Tisia, Italy.
"	Tiza[pan], Mexico,	Tisa, Carmania.
"	Tausa, New Granada,	Tiausa, India.
"	Tuz[pan],	Dosa, Assyria.

TABLE OF SUMERIAN WORDS.

<i>Ak.</i> , Akkad.	<i>Cam.</i> , Cambodian.	<i>Aym.</i> , Aymara.	<i>Mex.</i> , Aztek.
<i>Cir.</i> , Circassian.	<i>Mon.</i> , Peguan.	<i>Qui.</i> , Quichua.	<i>Oth.</i> , Othomi.
<i>Geo.</i> , Georgian.	<i>Bur.</i> , Burmese.		<i>Tara.</i> , Tarahumara.
	<i>Ann.</i> , Annam.		<i>Huas.</i> , Huasteca.
			<i>Poc.</i> , Poconchi.

F

82 TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

	Western.	Indo-Chinese.	Peruvian.	Mexican, etc.
Ear, . .	quri, Geo., takumah, Cir.,	nakhu, Karen, tai, Ann.,	rinciri, Qui., hinchu, Aym.,	nacaz, Mex. nechkala, Tara.
Mouth, .	ka, gu, Ak., dzeh, shey, Cir.,	amaka, Kami, kha, Mon,	lakka, Aym., simi, Qui.,	kama, Huas. chi, Mex., Poc.
Tooth, .	dzeh, Cir.,	zhua, Mon,	kchaka, Aym.,	tzi, Oth.
Forehead,	tik, Ak., thkhem, Geo.	.....	mati, Qui.	.....
Tongue, .	eme, Ak., ena, Geo.,	.....	.....	qhane, Oth. tenilla, Tara. zimogat, Toto.
Heart, . .	sa, Ak., libis, Ak., guli, Geo., ghey, Cir.	zeit, Bur., lao, Ann., chai, Siam.	soncco, Qui. chuiimo, Aym.	.....
Blood, . .	us, Ak., sishkhli, Geo.,	htseihn, Mon, swe, Bur.,	qui, Oth., estli, Huas. xihtz, Maya.	.....
Hand, . .	sugab, Ak., kheli, Geo., ia, oyg, Cir.,	su, Karen, ka, Kumi, Ahom, mo, Ann.,	maqui, Qui., tachlli, Aym.,	cab, Mex. cubac, Maya. maco, Totonaca.
Foot, . .	arik(i), Ak., pekhi, perhi, G., tlake, Cir.,	kaw, Karen, shon, Siam, akho, Kami,	kayu, Aym., chaqui, Qui.,	gua, Oth. acan, Maya. tala, Tara.
Horn, . .	shi, Ak., rka, Geo.,	sung, Ann., khyo, Bur.	huakra, Aym., Q.	.....
Skin, . .	shu, Ak., kani, Geo., shooway, Cir.	sare, axa, Bur.,	ccara, Qui. lepitchi, Aym.	.....
Sun, . .	zal(a), Ak., [usil, Etrus.], mze, Geo., pushur, par, Ak., teigha, Cir., dgeh, Cir.,	.....	inti, Aym., Qui., lupi, Aym., punchau, Qui.	hindi, Oth. tonatuih, Mex. taika, Tara. quih, Poc. aquicha, Huas.
Moon, . .	lid, Ak., [lala, Etr.], es, Ak., maathe, Cir.	la, Bur., lah, Kar., hpyalit, Siam.	quilla, Qui., paksi, Aym.,	citlali, Mex. maitsaka, Tara.
Star, . .	ooshaghe, Cir.,	tsah, Karen,	sillo, Aym.,	tze, Oth. citlali, Mex. aquicha, Huas.
Day, . .	dghe, Geo., [ur, Ak., light], tam, Ak.,	thngay, Cam., ngay, Ann., tangway, Mon.,	..... uru, Aym.,	quih, Poc. [tonatuih, Mex., [sun].
Fire, . .	ne, Ak., kum, Ak., [nefney, Cir., light].	[ne, na, Bur., sun.], kamo, Cam.,	lnina, Qui., Aym.	naiki, Tara.
Water, . .	a, Ak., aan, Ak. [rain],	ya, Bur., o, Sak., nan, Siam.,	yaku, Q., Aym. unu, Qui.,	ahti, Cora. a, Mex.; ye, Tar. ha, Maya.
River, . .	aria, Ak., mdinare, Geo., ada, Ak., ra, Ak., flow.	[re, Bur., water], mrach, Bur. tak, Cam.,	hahuir, Aym.	..... atoya, Mex., Cor.
Sky, Hea- ven, . .	siku, sikaru, Ak., kor, Cam.,	.....	.....	kaan, Maya.

	Western.	Indo-Chinese.	Peruvian.	Mexican, etc.
Sky, H'ven. an, Ak.,	. kani, Kumi,	. . . . .	andvui, Mixteca.	
tza, Geo.,	. taka, Mon,	. . . . .	taxah, Poc.	
Mountain, kur, kar(a), Ak.,	. khalon, Mon,	. kkollo, Aym.		
Hill, . . taghez, Cir.,	. tu, Mon, .	. pata, Qui.,	. tepe, Mex.	
mtha, Geo.,	. takun, Kami.	. . . . .	
Stone, . . . . .	. patouk, Shan.	. . . . .	
taq(a), Ak.,	. tamo, Cam.,	. kak, Aym., Qui.,	te, Mex.	
Rock, . . kwa, Geo.,	. kamou, Mon,	. . . . .	tete, Cora.	
Tree, . . gu, iz, Ak.,	. kai, Ann.,	. khoka, Aym.		
khe, Geo.,	. kanoung, Mon,	. quenua, Aym.		
Leaf, . . . . .	. akun, Kami,	. . . . .	kan, Maya.	
. . . . .	. slak, Cam.,	. llakka, Aym.		
. . . . .	. thela, lah, Karen,	. lappi, Aym.		
. . . . .	. la, Ann.	. . . . .	
Field, . . sa, Ak.,	. sre, Cam.	. . . . .	
Garden, . . gan(a), Ak.,	. . . . .	. cancha, Qui.,	. zaca, Mex.	
. . . . .	. kana, Geo.	. . . . .	
House, etc., uru, Ak.,	. reuan, Siam.	. . . . .	
. . . . .	. ziku, Ak.,	. . . . .	ngu, Oth.	
. . . . .	. duk(u), Ak.,	. phoun, Cam.,	. uta, ata, Aym.,	ata, Huas.
. . . . .	. sakhli, Geo.,	. ban, Siam,	. puncu, Aym., Q.,	otoch, Maya.
Name, . . mu, dara, Ak.,	. yamu, Mon,	. suti, Aym., Qui.,	. sana, Mixteca.	
. . . . .	. tsah, Cir.,	. . . . .	
. . . . .	. . . . .	. maing, Karen.		
. . . . .	. . . . .	. amin, Bur.		
. . . . .	. . . . .	. chu, Siam.		
Sheep, . . lu, Ak.,	. . . . .	. llama, Qui.		
. . . . .	. tzkvari, Geo.,	. . . . .	ccaura, Aym.	
. . . . .	. heene, Circ, lamb,	. . . . .	. una, Ay., (lamb).	
Goat, . . . . .	. gizdin, Ak.,	. mea, Cam.,	. paca, Aym.	
. . . . .	. thkhavi, Geo.,	. khapa, Mon.	. . . . .
Bull, . . . . .	. khar, la, Ak.,	. karau, Mon.	. . . . .
Cow, . . . . .	. hari, Geo.,	. khaboi, Kami.	. . . . .
. . . . .	. dapara, Ak.,	. paren, Mon, buf.	. . . . .
. . . . .	. puri, Geo.	. . . . . [falo.	. . . . .
Dog, . . . . .	. liku, Ak.,	. kala, Mon,	. anokara, Aym.,	cocochi, Tara.
. . . . .	. dzaghli, Geo.,	. khwe, Bur.,	. calatu, Qui.	
. . . . .	. khah, Cir.	. . . . .	. . . . .
Lion, . . . . .	. likmakh, Ak.,	. kala, Mon,	. . . . .	ocelo, Mex.
. . . . .	. lomi, Geo.,	. kya, Bur.,	. puma, Ak., Qui.	
Wild sheep, . . . . .	. dara, Ak.,	. akkhoei, Cam.,	. taruca, Aym., Q.	
Bird, . . . . .	. khu, Ak.,	. . . . .	. . . . .	quauh, Mex.
. . . . .	. khatham, Geo.	. khaton, Mon.	. . . . .
. . . . .	. kattey, Cir.	. kava.	. . . . .
Snake, . . . . .	. ti, sir, Ak.,	. tharun, Mon,	. katari, Aym.	
Fish, . . . . .	. kha, khan, Ak.,	. ka, Ann.,	. kañu, Aym.,	. cay, Poc.
. . . . .	. bat(a), Ak.,	. para, Siam.	. . . . .
Good, . . . . .	. khiga, Ak.,	. chia, Cam.,	. asque, Aym.	
. . . . .	. kargi, Geo.,	. kha, Mon,	. . . . .	qualli, Mex.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	gala, Tara.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. gha, Karen,	. . . . .	khuta, Tara.
Bitter, . . . . .	. hur(i), Ak.,	. khah, Karen, B.,	. haru, Aym.	
Sour, . . . . .	. mekave, Geo.,	. khom, Siam.	. . . . .
Black, . . . . .	. kug(i), Ak.,	. khuaun, Cam.,	. . . . .	akahha, Maya.
. . . . .	. mi, Ak.,	. mai, Bur.,	. chamaka, Aym.	
Red, . . . . .	. gusci, Ak.,	. gau, Karen,	. pako, Aym., Q.,	cuz, Mex.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. hpakit, Mon,	. . . . .	kokoz, Mex.
Great, . . . . .	. enim, nun, Ak.,	. thanot, Mon,	. hatun, Qui.,	. nob, Maya.

	Western.	Indo-Chinese.	Peruvian.	Mexican, etc.
Great,	makh, Ak., anta, Ak., atto, Cir. .	miat, Bur., tau, Karen, . .....	..... ..... .....	nim, Poc. na, ndi, Oth.
Give,	she, Ak., . ga? Ak., . mu, Ak., .	sho, Ann., ka, Mon., . pekya, Bur., .	chu, Aym., ku, Qui.,	caa, Maya. kia, Tara. maka, Mex.
Run,	riati, Ak.,	garitaa [aara], Mon,	huayra, Qui. .	.....
Flow,	rli, Georg.,	pre, Bur.,	[puri, Qui.]	.....
Go,	.....	aara, Mon,	[humi, Aym., Q.]	huma, Tara.
Speak,	kaka, Ak., laparako, Geo.,	nikay, Cam., hankai, Mon, chho, Bur.,	..... arusi, Aym. rima, Q. .	ynqui, Poc.
Eat,	ka, Ak., . ja, Geo.,	hanmarai, Mon. chhan, Cam., cha, Bur.,	..... mancana, Aym. .....	..... [Tara. qua, Cora, Mex, hanal, Maya.
Drink,	ka, Ak., . nak, Ak., sua, Geo.,	au, Ann., . kenn, Siam., thou, Mon, . sok, Bur. .	..... ..... ..... .....	..... hindi, Mixteca. chia, Mex.
Die,	khan, khut, Ak.,	mathi, Karen,	amaya, Aym.,	muechit, Ceva.
Kill,	be, ba, bat, Ak., sikua, Geo.,	kha, Siam., ..... .....	..... ..... .....	miquiz, Mex. mukiki, Tara.
Cut,	kud, khas, Ak.,	.....	cuta, Aym.	.....
Break,	re, Geo., .	rei, Cam.,	rutu, Qui.	.....
Cry,	tuq(a), Ak.,	toui, Cam.,	huaca. .	.....
Weep,	.....	khok, Ann.	.....	.....
Place,	ka, khash, Ak.,	.....	chura, Qui.	.....
Put,	ko, thsqo, Geo.,	.....	cancha, Qui.	.....
Rise,	ri, Ak., .	mhrang, Bur.,	hatari, Qui.	.....
Raise,	aka, Ak., .	heka, Karen,	hucaro, Qui.	.....
Many,	mes, Ak.,	husamia, Bur.,	.....	miec, Mex.
All,	ka, Ak., . koweli, Geo.,	ahmah, Karen,	[naka, Aym.] [kuna, Qui.]	..... .....
No, not,	nu, Ak., .	pnoom, Cam.,	hani, Aym.	.....
Negative,	nu, Geo.,	ma, Bur., etc., na, Kumi,	ma, Aym., Qui.	mao, Maya. ma, Poc.

The pronouns are of such varied type and distribution that only a few selections are offered.

	Western.	Indo-Chinese.	Peruvian.	Mexican, etc.
I, me,	mu, idbi, Ak., mi, Geo.	awai, Mon, nyo, Angka, nga, Bur., kha, Siam., etc.	..... ..... na, Aym., noca, Qui.,	ma, Oth. nuga, Oth. ne, Mex.
Thou,	zu, Ak., . shen, Geo., mun, men, Ak., weyroo, Cir.,	tua, Siam., tha, Karen, bai, Mon, ba, Angka, nah, Karen,	-ta, Aym., nqui, Qui., hupa, Aym.,	tata, Huas. mi, Totonaca. timo, Mex. pe, Cora. pu, Tara. nugui, Oth.
He,	ni, bi, Ak., [ni, bi, plur. Geo.], igi, misi, Geo.,	no, Ann., wa, . ni, Khyeng,	..... pay, Qui., ni, Aym. .	numu, Oth. bi, Oth.

	Western.	Indo-Chinese.	Peruvian.	Mexican, etc.
He, . . .	.....	pho, Angka, .	n, Qui. . .	.....
We, . . .	me, Ak., . .	.....	.....	ma, Oth.
Plurals, .	-nene, Ak., .	-aen, Siam., .	kuna, Qui., .	tame, Tara.
	-no, Ak., . .	-niht, Shan., .	naka, Aym. .	nana, Huas.
	-ni, Geo. . .	.....	.....	.....
	-bi, Geo., . .	tau, Mon, . .	pay, Aym. . .	.....
	-th, Geo., . .	dah, Karen, .	.....	te, Cora.
1, . . .	id, Ak., . .	moe, Camb., .	mai, Aym. . .	.....
	zee, Cir., . .	mway, Mon, .	huc, suc, Qui., .	ce, Mex.
	erthi, Geo., .	mot., Ann., .	.....	tam, Totonaca.
	.....	tach, Bur. . .	.....	.....
	.....	ter, Karen. .	.....	.....
2, . . .	bi, Ak., . .	bar, Cam., .	pa, Aym., . .	poa, Cora.
	kas, Ak., . .	pa, Mon, . .	yscay, Qui., .	ome, Mex.
	oh, Cir., . .	ki, Karen, . .	.....	yoho, Oth.
	ori, Geo., . .	kai, Angka, .	.....	os, Tara.
3, . . .	essa, Ak., . .	sung, thou, Bur.,	kimsa, Aym., Q.,	osh, Huas.
	sami, Geo., .	sam, Siam., .	.....	osh, Maya.
	shee, Cir., . .	htsan, Shan. .	.....	.....
	.....	pah, Cam., .	.....	ba, Tara.
	.....	pe, Mon. . .	.....	.....
4, . . .	sana, Ak., . .	si, Siam., . .	pusi, Aym. . .	.....
	.....	htse, Shan. .	.....	.....
	.....	tse, Angka. .	.....	.....
	.....	pon, Mon. . .	.....	.....
	.....	buan, Cam., .	.....	.....
5, . . .	sha, Ak., . .	ha, Siam., Shan.,	ppiska, Aym., Q.,	.....
	para, Ak., . .	patson, Mon. .	.....	.....
	tpey, Cir., . .	pangгна, Kami. .	.....	.....
6, . . .	as, Ak., . .	sau, Ann., . .	socta, Aym., Q.,	.....
	shoo, Cir., . .	sauk, Khyeng. .	.....	.....
	ekusi, Geo. .	.....	.....	.....

Professor John Campbell has found letter affinities for many of these Peruvian examples, and that for a good reason—that Aryan words of culture descend from the same prehistoric stock, and, in some cases, through Sumerian channels.

DOMESTIC EVERYDAY LIFE, AND MANNERS
AND CUSTOMS IN THIS COUNTRY, FROM
THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE END OF
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By GEORGE HARRIS, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.,
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II.—*From the Coming of the Anglo-Saxons to the Norman
Conquest.*

IN my former paper I endeavoured to describe the condition of the people at the earliest period with which we are acquainted, and the effect upon their civilisation produced by the Roman invasion, through the intercourse consequently established between Great Britain and Rome, at that time the grand centre and source of art and civilisation. The darkest period in our national history has now been passed through. Two causes mainly appear to me, in the first instance, to further the progress of civilisation among a people: (1.) The intercourse of a barbarous nation with foreigners who are more civilised than the former; (2.) The growing intelligence of the natives themselves, whose capacities are thus stimulated, and their energies roused. Many other causes, no doubt, contribute in turn to the further advancement and development of civilisation, such as the institutions which spring up, and the pursuits that are followed, in any nation. Nevertheless, these two main causes to which I have particularly alluded, appear to me to be the primary elements, and are what first contribute to set the machine in motion.*

Britain was more or less affected by both these influences. Its first civilisation it owed to its invasion by the cultivated

* Civilisation Considered as a Science, etc.

Romans. Their example stimulated the people to further cultivation and civilisation. When the Romans left them, their civilising influence being withdrawn, the Britons relapsed into comparative barbarism. Then the Saxons, and afterwards the Danes, came and pushed them on, as it were, in the career of civilisation; but did not do so much for them as the Romans had done, inasmuch as they themselves were considerably less civilised. In due course of time, however, the several institutions and pursuits and influences, which appear together to constitute what may properly be termed the elements of civilisation,* were established in this country, and produced their due effect.

The Saxons are supposed to have invaded Britain about the year 449. They first established themselves in the Isle of Thanet, and in the course of 150 years these uninvited, unwelcome, and encroaching visitors of ours managed to obtain possession of one-half of the southern division of this country. The natives took refuge in the mountains and forests, particularly those in the west; and the Saxons considering the Britons to be Gauls, called the district where they settled Gwalles, whence in time it obtained the name of Wales.† Some of the poor persecuted or affrighted Britons fled to that part of the coast of France which is immediately opposite to the southern coast of England, where they settled, and called it Brittany, in memory of their own dear country, which they had so unwillingly left. This name it still retains, and the Celtic language, which was in use in this country at the time when the Britons fled to Brittany, is still principally spoken there, as it is also in Wales. And in Brittany are yet to be seen several Druidical and ancient British temples and other buildings of great interest, several of which I have both examined and sketched, and some of which I described in my last paper.

To Brittany, therefore, the poor Britons migrated in shoals, and made that the country of their adoption, where they carried with them all their old habits and customs, as well as

* Civilisation Considered as a Science, etc.

† Thompson's Illustrations of Great Britain, vol. i., p. xvi.

their religion, and planted there temples and altars for Druidical worship of the same kind as those they had left in England.

At the time when they invaded Britain the Saxons were as rude and uncivilised as any of the other barbarian nations. In religion they were pagans, and hated or despised the Britons; many, though not all, of whom had become converted to Christianity,* and still retained that faith, although many of them appear to have relapsed into Druidism, as must have been the case with the bulk of those who emigrated to Britany, where the religion of the Druids seems to have been fully established by them.

The Saxons however, like many of the heathens of old, believed in a future state; but their ideas respecting it were very extraordinary, not unlike those possessed by some savage nations in our day. The Saxons supposed that their heroes on entering into another world would spend their days in martial sports, and their nights in feasting on the inexhaustible flesh of the Boar Scrimmer, and drinking beer and meat from the skulls of enemies whom they had slain, the cups being presented to them by virgins of great beauty.† Human sacrifices were offered up by the Saxons, and they sometimes put to death a tenth of their prisoners by lot.

The temples of the Saxons and Danes were at first only sacred groves and circles of rude stone, much in the manner of those of the Britons; but when they began to erect buildings in imitation of those in other countries, there was a chapel or holy place belonging to each, containing the idol, set upon a kind of altar, before which stood another plated with iron for the holy fire, which was kept constantly burning. And near it was a vase for receiving the blood of the victims, with a brush for sprinkling it upon the people.‡

After the Saxons, the Danes invaded our shores, and gradually established themselves in this island. It is recorded

* Pictorial History of England, vol. i., p. 140.

† Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, vol. i., p. 26; *Pict. Hist. Eng.*, vol. i., p. 226.

‡ Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, vol. i., p. 30.

that about the year 787 three strange vessels approached the Dorsetshire coast, and landed their crews near one of the king's towns. The unsuspecting and simple reeve or mayor of that town, not apprehending any danger, but possibly, like modern mayors, bent on hospitality, rose to meet the strangers, thinking probably they were traders, and with the intent of demanding the customs due upon their merchandise. I fear, however, that a blow from the battle-axe of these Danish invaders was all that he received, and his astonished attendants met the same fate. From this time the Danes became the incessant foes of this country, visited every part of the island, and burnt and pillaged in all directions without mercy.*

For particulars of these events, I must refer you to the history of England itself, where you will find them all fully detailed. My province here is to afford a description only of the different habits and customs followed, and to trace the progress of civilisation in this country, whoever chanced to be the dominant party here. Connected with this subject, I may here mention that the Danes, when they invaded England, made dreadful havoc with all the monasteries and schools, and probably the churches as well, burning many of them, and causing others to be quite deserted, from the terror which these ruthless marauders spread over the land.† Many of these establishments were, however, rebuilt and restored by Alfred the Great, who is believed to have been also the founder of the University of Oxford.‡

The Saxons, on their establishing themselves in Britain, proceeded to erect temples for their pagan worship; and when they became converted to Christianity, churches were built by them. Some few churches left by the Romans had indeed escaped the general devastation. The introduction of Christianity into this country alone produced the greatest effect on the manners and habits of the people, and induced them to abandon many savage and cruel customs, which nothing else would have compelled them to renounce.

* Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 105.

† Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 305.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 306.

Indeed, the highest condition of civilisation, and the purest code for its regulation, I hold to be Christianity. It is not improbable, however, that after the Britons had embraced Christianity, they still retained many of the ceremonies of Druidism.* And both among the converted heathens of India of the present day, as also among the early Christians, there seems to have been a proneness with the adoption of the new religion, to cling as far as possible to the rites and ceremonies appertaining to the old.

It is believed, however, and with good reason I think, that Christianity was originally implanted in Britain long before the arrival here of the Romans, and that St Paul himself actually visited our shores, and effected the conversion of the natives, whence probably our metropolitan cathedral has been dedicated to him. On the other hand, the last missionary sent by Pope Gregory, who was here when the first St Paul's was built, the heathen temple being pulled down which occupied its site, was named Paulinus; so, possibly, Paul was the name chosen in honour of him.† The people, nevertheless, afterwards relapsed into idolatry, either wholly or partially, until the Romans restored Christianity in Great Britain. The time when Christianity was first introduced into this country is supposed to have been somewhere between the years 43 and 61. Tertullian in his book against the Jews, which was written in the year 209, declares that those parts of Britain into which the Roman arms had never penetrated, had become subject to Christ; and Eusebius, a Bishop of Cæsarea, who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century, names the British Islands among the remote countries where the apostolical preachers had been successful. Not only St Paul, but St James, St Simon Zelotes, St Peter, and Joseph of Arimathea, have all been named as the persons who effected the conversion of the Britons.‡

The most singular history of the establishment of Christianity in this country is that which was written by the monks

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 229.

† *Id.*, p. 234.

‡ Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, pp. 32-34.

of Glastonbury, which attributed it to Joseph of Arimathea, who is said to have been sent here by St Philip, with a band of his disciples, in the year 63. Although they preached with great zeal, they could not induce any of the Britons to forsake their ancient superstition; but the king being informed that they had come from far and behaved modestly, appointed them a residence in an island called Iniswitrin, on the borders of his kingdom, to which two other pagan princes afterwards added twelve hides more of land. In this wilderness the angel Gabriel admonished them to build a church to the honour of the Blessed Virgin; and they accordingly erected the first Christian church at Glastonbury. It consisted, however, only of a small oratory, having walls of barked alders, or wicker wands twisted together, and its roof was thatched with straws or rushes. It was 60 feet long and 26 feet broad; the door reached to the eaves of the roof; there was a window over the altar in the east, and it was surrounded by a churchyard capacious enough to hold 1000 graves.

Nevertheless, after this event, in certain parts of the country, the people relapsed into idolatry, and even Druidism was to some extent restored, many of the rites of which had probably never been abandoned.* Eventually, however, Christianity obtained an entire conquest over the land, and the wild superstitions which it superseded vanished for ever. In Brittany the Druids held their ground for a considerable period.

The Saxon churches are supposed to have been most commonly erected where the bodies of saints were discovered, consisting at first of small wooden oratories thatched with rushes, and sometimes constructed entirely of woven wands.†

Several timber buildings were erected by the Anglo-Saxons. A passage in the "Ecclesiastical History" of the Venerable Bede‡ affords us a notion of the sort of buildings in use at that time, and of the catastrophes to which they were liable. After describing the friendly reception of a

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., pp. 143, 145, 229.

† Thompson's Illust. Gt. Brit., vol. i., p. 55.

‡ Chap. X.

travelling stranger at a house where the inmates were at supper, he proceeds: "They sat long at supper, and drank hard, with a great fire in the middle of the room. It happened that the sparks flew up, and caught the top of the house, which being made of wattles and thatch, was presently in a flame. The guests ran out in a fright, without being able to put a stop to the fire. The house was consequently burnt down." This was in the year 642. The chapel or oratory erected by Edwin, King of Northumberland, at York in 627, which was probably the first Christian church built in England, was of timber, but this was afterwards rebuilt with stone upon a larger scale. And the Cathedral of York, founded by Edwin soon after his baptism, was undoubtedly a stone building; moreover, in 669 the windows were glazed, the glass for this purpose being brought from abroad. In 716 the Abbey of Croyland in Lincolnshire was erected, the foundations of which are described as being laid upon large wooden piles driven into the ground, solid earth brought in boats from a distance of nine miles being laid upon them. The church of St Peter at York having been damaged by fire, was taken down and rebuilt by Albert, then archbishop of that see. The new church is described as a lofty pile, supported by arches on solid columns, with admirable vaultings and windows, surrounded by porticoes and galleries, and containing thirty altars variously ornamented.*

The building of Christ Church Minster is recorded in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" for the year 1020, and we are told that it was "built of stone and lime for the souls of the men who were there slain." The "Chronicle" for the year 1066 records the burning of this minster, and that a comet appeared the same year.

An extraordinary veneration for relics appears to have been felt by the Anglo-Saxons. We read that to one church was presented a portion of Christ's cap and hair, a piece of the Virgin Mary's dress, part of the body and garments of St John the Baptist, St Paul's neck-bones, St Andrew's stick,

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., pp. 309-311.

the stone which killed St Stephen, and the burning bush which Moses saw.* This last is said to have been at one time deposited in St Mary's Church at Warwick. The arm of St Augustine was purchased of the city of Pavia for a church in Coventry.† Long fastings were at this period frequently ordered, but a person was allowed to get other persons to join him in it, and so divide the penance among them. A seven years' fast might be performed in three days, if the principal could prevail upon 840 persons to join him in it.‡

St Dunstan required persons to confess whatever sins had been committed by their bodies, their skin, their flesh, their bones, their sinews, their veins, their gristle, their tongues, their lips, their palate, their hair, or their marrow.§

Alfred the Great, whenever the fierce turmoils of the times in which he lived allowed him an interval of quiet, applied himself to architecture; and although he did not neglect the restoration of the ruined monasteries and churches, yet his chief care was directed to military works, and to walling and fortifying the towns.|| The palace of Edward the Confessor at Westminster was built about the tenth century, and its remains prove it to have been a spacious and solid structure. The Painted Chamber, or as it was called as late as the fifteenth century, St Edward's Chamber, is supposed to have been part of the original structure. The apartment to which belong the ancient windows towards Palace Yard, is believed to have been the great hall of the palace previously to the erection of that by William Rufus.¶

Parish churches appear to have become frequent early in the ninth century. Several monasteries were established in England during the time of the Anglo-Saxons, it is supposed before the end of the fourth century,** and at some of these a regular record or diary was kept of passing events.

* Thompson's Illust. Gt. Brit., vol. i., p. 50.

† Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 182.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 244.

§ *Ib.*, p. 312.

¶ Thompson's Illust. Gt. Brit., vol. i., p. 52.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 51.

¶ *Ib.*, p. 314.

They, however, exhibited a strong predilection for the marvellous in their narrations. In one of these registers, we are told that in the year 681 a boy, who was an inmate of Selsey Abbey, was seized with the plague, which was then desolating the country. As the poor lad was lying on his bed, he was accosted by two angel visitants, who bade him tell the frightened monks that the plague would spread no further, and that it had been stayed by the prayers of King Oswald of Northumbria, of whose death that very day was the anniversary. "Let them," said St Peter, for no less a person was the speaker, "search in their books, in which are recorded the deaths of deceased persons, and they will find that on this day he was taken." The abbot, we are told, believed the boy's words, and straightway went and searched in his chronicle, and found that on that very day King Oswald had been slain. Not only, however, was learning in general preserved, but the arts were cultivated in the monasteries; and several of the pictures which have come down to us of Anglo-Saxon times, copies of some of which I present before you, were executed by the Abbot of Malmesbury.

Some of the grave and reverend fathers who presided over the monasteries had, however, I am sorry to say, a very ungallant prejudice against the softer sex. St Columba would not allow his followers to keep cows, for the following reason: "Where there is a cow there must be a woman, and where there is a woman there must be mischief!" Archbishop Ælfric declared: "Neither a wife nor a battle becomes the priests."*

Many of the monastic legends of this period are very curious, and serve well to illustrate the state of feeling and superstition of the times. Laurentius, Archbishop of Canterbury, one morning presented himself to the Saxon king, Eadbald, with his shoulders bloody and marked with stripes, and declared that, having passed the night in the church dedicated to St Peter and St Paul, the former of those

* Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, vol. i., p. 52.

apostles appeared to him, and gave him a very sound flogging for allowing the king to forsake Christianity. On this the king was so frightened, thinking that he should be served far worse than even the archbishop, that he took immediate measure to suppress the idolatries which he had been encouraging.*

The famous St Dunstan, among other more refined and learned accomplishments, followed the pursuit of a blacksmith. One evening, while he was at his forge, the devil thrust his head in at the window, and began to tempt him with some very immoral proposals. St Dunstan patiently allowed him to go on until the tongs were red-hot in the fire, when, snatching them suddenly up, he seized with them the capacious nose of the devil, who roared so loud that the whole neighbourhood round rang with his bellowing.†

On another occasion, when the devil was misconducting himself in the presence of St Dunstan, the indignant saint took up his staff, and belaboured the devil with it so heartily, that it broke in three pieces.‡ Some time after this, however, St Dunstan got into trouble, and was, what would be called in these days, sold up. While the bailiffs, or whatever the people were who were employed to take an inventory of his goods and chattels, were so engaged, the devil came and laughed so heartily at seeing the poor abbot in trouble, that he quite made the building re-echo with the noise. St Dunstan, however, told him that he should very soon be all right again.§ While some people who had been violently opposed to St Dunstan were standing before him, the floor of the room suddenly gave way, as though by a miracle, at the words of St Dunstan, and fell to the ground with his adversaries, of whom some were crushed to death, and many grievously wounded, while the part of the room which St Dunstan occupied remained unmoved. It has been suggested that St Dunstan's skill as a blacksmith may have been serviceable to him on this occasion, and that he probably contrived the

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 233.

† *Ib.*

‡ *Ib.*, p. 241.

§ *Ib.*, p. 243.

means by which the floor fell.* Among other officers of the Church at this time was one called the exorcist, whose duty and office it was to drive out devils.†

The houses of this period belonging to the Anglo-Saxons were, as I have already mentioned, generally built of timber. This was the case with the Abbey of Croyland, with its infirmary and chapel, baths, hall, strangers' apartments, brew-house, bakehouse, granaries, and stables, all of which were constructed of beams of wood and boards closely joined, and most beautifully worked by the admirable art of the carpenter, and covered with lead. In a passage in the charter of King Edward the Confessor, to Malmesbury Abbey, it is stated: "All the monasteries of my realm are to the sight nothing but worm-eaten and rotten timbers and boards." Timber buildings admitted, however, of a great deal of architectural ornament, and the experience of many of us will tell us that buildings of this class are frequently highly picturesque. Alfred the Great, we are told, displayed considerable taste, both in the construction and decoration of his palaces, all or most of which were of wood.‡ The Anglo-Saxon houses of the principal kind were usually erected near a spring, a wood, or an open field, and at a distance from any others, until towns were formed by building round a chieftain's castle, a temple, or a market. The best of their dwellings were only thick heavy pillars, united by boards, and covered with turf, though there sometimes existed a pride in having them of great extent, and adorned with lofty towers. A palace is recorded of 135 feet long.§

The building of fortresses and castles is, however, recorded in that ancient and interesting record of this period, the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." Thus, in the year 913, we are told: "This year, by the help of God, Ethelfeld, Lady of the Mercians, went with all the Mercians to Tamworth, and there built the fortress early in the summer; and after this, before Lammas, that at Stafford. 914, Then after this, in the next

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 244.

† *Id.*

‡ *Id.*, p. 317.

§ Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, vol. ii., p. 105.

year, that at Eddesbury, early in the summer; and afterwards, in the same year, late in the harvest, that at Warwick. 915, Then after this, in the next year, after midwinter, that at Cherburgh, and that at Warburton; and that same year, before midwinter, that at Runcorn. 915, This year was Warwick built."

The dwellings of the wealthier classes of this period appear to have been very completely, and sometimes splendidly furnished. Their walls were hung with silk, richly embroidered with gold or colours. You have exhibited in the diagram, which was copied from an original drawing contained in one of the valuable collections of the Anglo-Saxon period in the British Museum, a representation of an Anglo-Saxon house adorned in the way I have described. The hangings here appear to be at the entrance of the house, as well as in the apartments. The lower part of the drawing represents some beds of this period, the inmates of which seem to be very comfortably reposing.

In another diagram, which was also copied from an Anglo-Saxon missal, you have a quaint representation of the interior of an Anglo-Saxon house, including the staircase, which seems to consist of little more than a long plank, with some pieces of wood nailed upon it. Also of a wine-cellar, a pump, and the vessels then in use for holding wine.

The needle-work, for which the English ladies of that time were so famous, was there displayed to great advantage.* The four daughters of one of the Anglo-Saxon kings peculiarly excelled in spinning, weaving, and needle-work;† and I am glad to be able to record that the industry of these interesting young ladies was equal to their ability. Even the grave St Dunstan himself condescended to draw a pattern for a priest's vestment, which a lady belonging to a religious order in the tenth century executed in threads of gold.

Both painting and sculpture appear to have been followed by the Anglo-Saxons, and in the illumination of manuscripts they displayed great skill. Some of the bas-reliefs in sculpture exe-

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 323.

† *Ib.*, p. 320.

cuted by them are said to have been as good as anything done at that time in Europe ; but as art was then in a very low state all over the Continent, this is really but awarding slender praise to the skill of our ancestors in this respect. In King Alfred's time, and before the cathedrals of Canterbury and York were decorated with pictures and tapestry, we are told that Etherilda adorned Ely Cathedral with a series of historical pictures in memory of her famous husband, Birthwood. The churches of this period were also supplied with sculptural designs and figures, many of them in the rudest form. The pictures of the Anglo-Saxon times which I produce before you this evening are most of them copied from works of art of the period, and may therefore afford you a tolerably correct idea of the state of it. The figures, you will observe, are generally very stiff and uncouth. Occasionally they attempted compositions from historical and scriptural subjects, and it is curious to observe in these designs how little notion they appear to have had of other people and nations having had customs differing from their own. Thus, because when they went out they rode on horseback, and took their hounds and hawks with them, they thought everybody else must have done the same; and so they represented the Wise Men of the East going to present offerings to the infant Saviour as riding on horseback with their hawks and hounds. In the representation of Jacob going into Egypt, he is drawn as riding in an Anglo-Saxon waggon. So also in the Anglo-Saxon picture of the raising of Lazarus, he is represented as in an Anglo-Saxon stone coffin of that period, and as having been buried in their own peculiar mode. This custom of representing everything in the fashion of their own times, was also followed by the ancient Britons and their immediate descendants; and I have seen a sculptural device on a church in Brittany, intended to represent the offering of the Wise Men of the East, in which not only do they all appear in genuine Breton costume, but St Joseph has on his feet a pair of huge clumsy Breton sabots or wooden shoes.

The Anglo-Saxons cultivated poetry as well as painting,

and there are several productions of their day still in existence. Music also, we are informed, was followed with much ardour in this country from a very early date in the Anglo-Saxon period. The harp was handed round at their festivals, and we are told of an Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Sherborne, that he could find no mode of commanding the attention of his townsmen so successful as that of standing on the bridge and singing a ballad which he had composed.* The music of which the fullest and most distinct notices have come down to us is the church music. In the fourth century St Ambrose is recorded to have introduced singing into the service of the Western churches, which continued in use until the end of the sixth century. The Gregorian chant is supposed to have been introduced in this country by St Augustine. Bede asserts that in 678 one John was sent from Rome by the pope to teach music to the English clergy, and that he both gave instructions in the art during his stay, and left behind him written directions for its study. Musical instruments, too, of great variety were in use among the Anglo-Saxons. So early as the eighth century the Anglo-Saxons appear to have had organs in their churches, and some of these had even keys and gilt cases. One is described as having copper pipes, and another, in the year 669, as having twelve pairs of bellows above, fourteen below, four hundred pipes, and requiring seventy strong men to work it.† Kings joined in the services of the church, and sung the offices in surplices. At certain seasons the choirs of the churches were strewn with hay, and at others with sand; on Easter Sunday with ivy leaves, and sometimes with rushes.‡

Books were very rare among the Anglo-Saxons, and their poems were graven upon small staves or rods, one line upon each face of the rod. Vellum or parchment afterwards supplied the place of these materials, and some of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts preserved in the British Museum are written upon vellum. But comparatively few persons were then able

* Palg. Hist. Anglo-Saxons, p. 152.

† Thompson's Illust. Gt. Brit., vol. i., p. 56.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 57.

to write; and indeed not many even of the higher ranks could read. The great Emperor Charlemagne never advanced so far in his education as to be able to write his name. The long peace which followed King Alfred's triumph over the Danes, about the year 887, was the season of the revival of learning in England. The laity were generally uneducated, but very often had a son or servant taught to read for them. Alfred himself was twelve years old before he could read, and he was then induced to learn from his stepmother Judith promising a volume of poetry, with coloured pictures in it, which he had often admired, to such of her sons as should be first able to read it.* It is said, however, that a certain rude kind of printing, by means of stamps with raised letters, which were impressed on stone or wood, was in use among the Anglo-Saxons. The wood used was beech, and the word *boc* or *book* signified a beech-tree. This process was also known to the Romans.†

Church bells are supposed to have been introduced about the seventh century, and were originally rung by the priests, and afterwards by persons who were blind or maimed.‡

Some eccentric notions on the subjects of geography and astronomy appear to have been entertained by the Anglo-Saxons. They taught that there were red hens near the Red Sea which consumed any persons who touched them, and that there were human beings fifteen feet high, with two faces on one head. There were some men, they asserted, twenty feet high, of three different colours. One Anglo-Saxon MS. notes that the sun is red in the evening, because he then looks over hell, where he shines during the night.§

The Anglo-Saxon chairs and benches, judging from the representations of them which have been handed down to us, were not very comfortable to sit upon; but possibly the unskilfulness of the artist who drew them has failed to do them justice. They somewhat resemble our modern camp-stools. If, however, they were not very convenient to use, they were

* Thompson's Illust. Gt. Brit., vol. ii., p. 88.

† *Ib.*

‡ *Ib.*

§ *Ib.*, p. 98.

very ornamental as regards their appearance, having the heads and feet of lions, eagles, griffins, and other fierce animals carved upon them. They were also occasionally ornamented with gold and silver.*

The Anglo-Saxons appear to have had tables as well as chairs, and both oval and long; and not only tables, but table-cloths, knives, spoons, drinking-horns, cups, bowls, and dishes. It is singular, however, that they seem never to have had any forks. Gold and silver plate they had in abundance, and some of this was very costly.†

The earliest invention for measuring time was probably the sun-dial, to which reference is made in the Bible, and which appears to have been in use at a very early period of the world's history. During the ninth century the clocks were somewhat on the plan of an hour-glass. The water was contained in a basin, which had very small holes at the bottom, through which the water dropped into another basin, the sides of which were marked with lines to show the hours. A water clock which was sent as a present to the Emperor Charlemagne, is described as having twelve doors, and at each door was placed a small armed figure, which opened and shut the door according as the hours revolved, and also, by means of some mechanical contrivance, struck the time upon a metal bell.‡ Candles were also, at certain periods of our history, and particularly during Alfred's time, resorted to for the purpose of measuring time.

I must now say something upon a subject which many will perhaps consider rather dry, but which it is very desirable to know a little about—I mean the civil institutions and laws of the times of which I have been speaking, and which form the foundation of many of those now in being. Sir Francis Palgrave, in his admirable "History of the Anglo-Saxons," gives the following graphic sketch of the Anglo-Saxon legislative assembly or parliament; so we will just fancy that we have got an order into the gallery, as some of you may have

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 324.

† *Ib.*, p. 325.

‡ Markham's Hist. France, p. 29.

done as regards the House of Lords or House of Commons of the present day, and are taking a peep at the Anglo-Saxon King Edward the Confessor, who is sitting in his hall surrounded by his nobles and ministers.

"Those persons who are sitting and standing nearest to the king are his chief officers of state. That tall, thin, rough-looking man is Algar, whom the Franks call the Constable of the Host. This gentleman appears to be a sort of Master of the Horse of the Anglo-Saxon cabinet, as we are told that not one of the king's horses is sent to grass without his special order. The portly nobleman with the huge knife and wooden trencher is Æthelmar, the Dish Thane—he carves the meat for royalty. Hugoline, that cautious, sly-looking clerk, is the Bower Thane, or Chamberlain; he keeps the key of the king's *Hoard*. You would be astonished to see the heaps of treasure in the low-vaulted chamber; and yet there is not quite so much in the hoard as there used to be. . . . Those quiet, shrewd-looking men, with shaven crowns, are Osbern, Peter, Robert, Gyso, and the rest of the clerks of the king's chapel. He who sits at the head of the bench, is Reinbaldus the Chancellor. These venerable persons have been gradually gaining more and more influence in the Witenagemot, though anciently they were only appointed for the purpose of celebrating mass, and singing in the king's chapel; and Reinbaldus, the Chancellor, . . . is a kind of dean, the king's confessor, who takes care of the king's conscience, and imposes very hard penances upon him when he has sinned. The Anglo-Saxon kings employ their chaplains as their writing clerks. King Edward caused a great seal to be made, on which you may see his effigy in his imperial robes; and to all the writs, or written letters, which issue in his name, an impression from that seal is appended. It is by such writs that our [Anglo-Saxon] king signifies his commands. If a question of great importance is to be decided before the Thanes of the Shire, in a manner out of the ordinary course, it is heard before certain clerks and others, named by the king's writ. If a clerk is promoted to a bishopric, he must have a writ before he can be placed in his chair or throne. If you wish to obtain the king's protection, or his 'peace,' you had best obtain a writ, by which this favour is testified. For this purpose you must apply to the clerks of the chapel. Whether issued by the

king's special direction or not, the writ is often a long time making its appearance. And suitors find that a golden cup placed in the king's wardrobe, or a bay stallion sent to the royal stable, has a great effect in driving the chaplain's quill. At present great part of our law business is cheaply, expeditiously, and equitably despatched in the ordinary Folkmoots, or Courts of the Hundred, or of the Shire, which go on regularly, by immemorial usage, without any writ or other sanction from the king. These tribunals we derive from our remotest ancestors. . . . So much for those who are about the king. With respect to the Witenagemot itself, you will observe that it is divided into three orders or estates. The mitres and cowls of those who are nearest to the king, sufficiently point out that the 'lewed folk' or laymen, have yielded the place of power to the clergy. . . . You see that near the bishops and abbots are many clergy of inferior degree. Every bishop brings with him a certain number of priests elected or selected from his own diocese. . . . Beneath the clergy sit the lay peers and other rulers, who are bound by homage to the Crown. That vacant seat belongs to Malcolm, King of the Scots, or, as some begin to call him, the King of Scotland. The wicked usurper Macbeth had possession of his throne. . . . By King Edward's command the stout Earl Siward marched all his forces across the Tweed with a mighty army. Macbeth had called the Northmen to his aid, but his resistance was hopeless; he was expelled, and Malcolm, as King Edward had commanded, was restored to the inheritance of his ancestors. Malcolm ought to be here in person. When he comes up he is escorted from shire to shire by earls and bishops; and at convenient distances, mansions and townships have been assigned to him, where he and his attendants may abide and rest. Yet, with all these aids, the journey is most tedious, and not unfrequently accompanied by danger; besides which, it is not altogether safe for Malcolm to leave the wild Scots, his turbulent subjects, uncontrolled during the very long space of time, seldom so little as half a year, which he must pass upon the road." What a contrast to the travelling in our day! "Watling Street is much out of repair; it has not had a stone laid upon it since the arrival of Hengist and Horsa; and the top of the Roman Fosseway is worse than the bottom of a ditch; and therefore the attendance of the King of Scots is generally excused. The King of Cumbria, and the kings, or 'under-kings' of the Welsh, sit nigh

unto the King of Scots. The two latter . . . have just now sworn oaths to King Edward ; . . . but the Welsh are an unfaithful nation, untrue even to themselves. Griffith, the brother of the Welsh kings, . . . was slain by his own men, and his bloody head was sent by Earl Harold to King Edward at London. . . . On the same bench with these vassal kings sit the great earls of the realm, distinguished by the golden collars and caps of maintenance which they wear. . . . He who looks so fell and grim is Siward the son of Beorn, Earl of Northumbria. The good people in the north . . . actually believe that Siward's grandfather was a bear in the forests of Norway, and that when his father Beorn lifted up his uncombed locks, the two pointed shaggy ears, which he had inherited from the bear, testified the nature of his sire. Siward himself takes no pain to contradict this story ; on the contrary, I rather think that he considers it as a piece of good policy to encourage any report which may add to the terror inspired by his name. He has declared that he will never die, except in full armour.

"Earl Leofric of Mercia, as you see, keeps at a distance from Earl Godwin of Wessex." It was this Earl Leofric who was the husband of the famous Lady Godiva, and who made Coventry toll-free. "These noblemen are always opposed to each other ; and I dread the consequences of such dissensions. . . . The earls thus constitute the second order of the Witan. The third and lowest order in rank . . . is composed of the Thanes, who serve the king in time of war, with the swords by which they are girt, and who are therefore called the king's ministers. The Thanes are all land-owners. . . . When the Witenagemot was last held at Oxford, I recollect conversing with some Thanes who came from the Danish burghs, and here also may be others from the great cities of this kingdom. . . . I dare say they are all in the house, but the place is so dark that at this distance I really cannot distinguish their faces. As to that mixed multitude by whom the further part of the hall is crowded, and who can just be seen behind the Thanes, they consist, as far as I can judge, of the class of folks who come together in vast crowds at the meetings of our Hundreds and our Shires." *

The word "Witena-gemot," by which the Saxon Parliament was called, means "meeting of the wise." Perhaps

* Sir F. Palgrave's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, pref. p. xiii.

some persons may think that the Parliament of our day does well not to assume any such pretentious appellation. The laws passed by the Anglo-Saxon Parliaments were not near so numerous as those enacted by the Parliament of the present day, in which respect the Saxon Parliament ought, doubtless, to be preferred. The floor of the room where they assembled was strewed with rushes, instead of being carpeted. The debates of those days appear to have been very short and very pithy, and the language not always very ceremonious, or, as we should now say, "parliamentary."

The manners displayed at the courts of the Anglo-Saxon kings were not, I am afraid, very refined or courtier-like; at least, if we may judge from one of the laws of that period, which deprived of the royal protection "any person who should strike the queen, or snatch anything forcibly from her hand."*

The office of king in these rude times seems to have been hardly one much to be coveted, inasmuch as we read that out of fourteen Saxon sovereigns six were murdered either by their relations or their rivals, five were expelled by their subjects, two became monks (probably in the hope of escaping a worse fate), and one only died with the crown on his head.†

It seems doubtful whether trial by jury was in force in the times of the Anglo-Saxons, at least in the form in which it now exists. Indeed, the precise period of its establishment in this country does not appear to have been very clearly ascertained. Sir William Blackstone observes that this mode of trial has been used time out of mind in this nation, and seems to have been coeval with its first civil government. Some authors have endeavoured to trace the original of juries as far back as the Britons themselves, the first inhabitants of our island. Juries appear to have been also in use among the earliest Saxon colonies, and their institution has been ascribed to Woden himself. In England, we find actual mention of them so early as the laws of King Ethelred, and that not as a new invention. Inquiry into certain facts on

* Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, vol. i., p. 171.

† *Pict. Hist. Eng.*, vol. i., p. 149.

behalf of the Crown by means of juries, seems, however, to have been frequent in England long before the trial by jury was commonly used in courts of justice for judicial purposes.* Trial by ordeal was much in use among the Anglo-Saxons, which consisted in making the unlucky accused person handle a red-hot iron, or put his fingers in boiling water; and if he was not burnt or scalded, he was declared innocent. County courts were held twice a year for deciding all matters in dispute. All public business was transacted here; and sometimes, for greater security, the most important law-writings or deeds were inserted in the blank leaves of the parish Bible. A certain price was put upon the commission of particular offences. So much for killing the king, so much for slaying a common person. The price of wounds was also fixed by the Anglo-Saxon laws. Thus, for a wound of an inch long under the hair was to be paid 1s.; for the same wound in the face, 2s.; and 30s. for the loss of an ear. A leg was valued at 50s., the little finger at 11s., the great toe at 10s., a front tooth at 6s., a back tooth at 1s., and a nail of the finger at the same price.†

Allusions to the different kinds of punishment inflicted for various offences are contained in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." Blinding, mutilation, and scalping are referred to in that for the year 1036. Among other punishments inflicted upon criminals by the Anglo-Saxon laws, besides fines and death, were imprisonment, outlawry, banishment, slavery, transportation, whipping, branding, and the pillory. Wounding, amputation of limb, cutting the nose, ears, and lips, plucking out the eyes, and tearing off the hair, are also specified as punishments. Their common capital punishment seems to have been hanging, and in some instances stoning.‡

When land was sold in these early times, the owner cut a turf, and threw it into the lap of the purchaser, as a token that the possession of the earth was transferred. Sometimes he tore off the branch of a tree, and put it in the hand of the

* Law Amendment Journal, vol. ii., p. 118.

† Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 260.

‡ *Id.*, vol. i.

person who bought the property; and when the buyer of a house received possession, or seisin, as it was termed, the key of the door, or a bundle of thatch pulled from the roof, was given into his hands. Under the Danish kings who ruled in England, the delivery of a drinking-horn was used as the mode of conveying property; and sometimes property was held on condition of producing this article when required. The estate of Pusey in Berkshire is still held by the possession of a horn, by the delivery of which it was granted by King Canute to an officer in his army, who, according to tradition, had made his way in disguise into the camp of the Saxon enemy, and there obtained information of a plot laid to surprise the Danes. The Pusey horn was most probably the drinking-horn of Canute. It is an ox-horn of a dark-brown colour, about two feet in length, and a foot in circumference at the rim. At the small end is a hound's head of silver gilt, made to screw in as a stopper; and by taking out this, it might be made to serve as a hunting-horn, a use of it which appears to be indicated by two rings, one at the mouth, and another at the middle, with which it is furnished, as if for a strap or belt to go through. There is a broad silver ring round the middle of the horn, with an inscription upon it, stating that it was given by the king to William Pewse, to hold his land by. It has remained with the estate in the same family from that time to the present—nearly a thousand years.*

As regards the other modes of passing property at this time, wills were then in use. There are several Anglo-Saxon wills among the ancient manuscripts in the British Museum; and some of these I have inspected, in company with the late Mr John Mitchell Kemble, the eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar. In the wills of persons of that time are occasionally mentioned beds, pillows of straw, bed-clothes, curtains, and sheets. Skins of animals were sometimes used as coverlids; and a goat-skin bed-covering is mentioned as a present made to an Anglo-Saxon abbot. In an Anglo-Saxon poem we are told

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 325.

that when the evening came on, the tables were taken away, and the apartment was spread with beds and bolsters, by which it would appear that the company slept in the same room in which they had been feasting. The "beer-servants," as they were called, are afterwards described as putting up the shields and arms round the walls, so that the warriors might have them ready at the first alarm,* a not unnecessary precaution in those lawless times.

Glass vessels appear to have been rare in the Anglo-Saxon days. Silver candlesticks were, however, in use, and silver mirrors, and horn lanterns are alluded to in some of their documents. The Anglo-Saxons also possessed boiling vessels, for the purpose of cooking their meat. Strange, however, to say, these vessels were made not of iron or brass, but of leather, and were manufactured by the shoemakers.† They had also ovens for baking meat and bread. Roast meats at that time were brought up to table by the servants, not upon dishes, but upon spits, and the guests cut off such portions of them as they pleased. This fashion was also followed among the Normans.‡

The next diagram exhibited is intended to represent an Anglo-Saxon dinner-party, and is copied from a drawing contained in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in the British Museum. I am sorry to observe that there are no ladies among the company, which, I have no doubt, is the cause of the somewhat doleful expression of more than one of the guests. The admission of ladies to their entertainments is remarked upon by one of the chroniclers of those times as one of the surest marks of the advance of civilisation. The table is covered with a rich cloth, which, we are told, extended over the knees of the guests, and served also as a substitute for napkins. Knives are lying on the table, and are in the hands of two of the company. The feast does not appear very abundant, but bowls and dishes are on the table, in which some viands are placed, and there are loaves of bread. Two servants are seen

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., pp. 325, 326.

† *Ib.*, p. 326.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 327.

on their knees offering the meat on spits. The guest in the centre holds a drinking-horn in his hand. There do not appear to be any plates on the table.

The Anglo-Saxons generally sat at their feasts on long benches, at large square tables, and every person took his place according to his rank. But if any one assumed a higher place than he was entitled to, he was put down to the bottom of the table, and all the company were allowed, by a law of Canute, without its being considered any breach of civility, to pelt him with bones.* This, I am sure, would not have been allowed had the ladies been present at their feasts.

I will now endeavour to afford you some description of the dresses worn by the people of this period. Great progress in civilisation had in this respect been made at the time of the Anglo-Saxons, since the ancient British were the sole occupants of our isle, whose attire, as I have already mentioned, when they had any, was of the rudest description. The female costume of the Anglo-Saxons appears to have consisted generally of a long and ample garment, with loose sleeves, worn over a closer fitting one, which had tight sleeves, reaching to the wrist, shoes similar to those worn by the men, and a head-dress, formed of a veil or long piece of linen or silk, wrapped round the head and neck. The mantle also formed part of the dress of the higher classes. The Anglo-Saxon ladies paid great attention to the dressing and ornamenting of their hair. They also used paint to render their cheeks more blooming, and to add to their natural charms. Cuffs and ribbons are mentioned in the will of an Anglo-Saxon lady, and also a bracelet. And the different documents of this period allude to earrings, crosses, and gold ornaments for the hair. Gloves, however, appear to have been very rare among the Anglo-Saxons. Among the representations of male figures they are never met with; but they are occasionally alluded to in certain documents as being great rarities.†

* Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, vol. ii., p. 261.

† *Pict. Hist. Eng.*, vol. i., pp. 328-330.

The chariots of the Anglo-Saxons seem to have been constructed with some ingenuity, rude and unwieldy as they undoubtedly must have been. Of course, there were no springs to them; and considering the roughness of the roads of those times, the jolting which the fair ladies experienced, even at the very moderate pace at which they travelled, must have considerably diminished the pleasure of the excursion. The roads were generally very bad, full of holes, and much neglected. Inns were very rare, and wolves and bears and highway robbers very common. Bad, therefore, as travelling on horseback was, that by carriage was much worse.

There appears to be considerable uncertainty as to the nature of the military costume which was worn by the Anglo-Saxons. They are described, when they invaded this country, as being armed with "daggers, white sheathed piercers, spears and shields, the latter being made of split wood, and four-pointed or square helmets." "Their leader," we are told, "was armed in scaly mail, carrying a projecting shield, a slaughtering pike, and wore the skin of a beast." The Anglo-Saxon shield seems to have been oval or convex, with an iron umbo or boss. The shields are represented in the pictures of that period as painted with red and blue borders, but the ground and centre are generally white. They were sometimes covered with leather; but according to one of the Saxon laws no shield-maker was allowed to put a sheep-skin over a shield. The rim and boss were of iron, either painted or gilt. They were held at arm's length in action, like those of the Britons, and were occasionally large enough to cover nearly the whole body. Their offensive weapons were all made of iron, the swords being long, broad, and double-edged.

Their javelins and spears were sometimes barbed, sometimes leaf-shaped. They fought also with axes fixed to long handles. The Anglo-Saxons are said to have neglected the use of bows and arrows in war, but in which it is asserted that the Danes showed much skill.*

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., pp. 332, 333.

The Anglo-Saxon ships had their bows richly ornamented and carved, sometimes with the figure of a horse. At the stern were two oars for steering instead of a rudder, and the cabin was in the middle of the deck in the form of a house. They seem to have had but few ropes, and only a single square sail fastened to a yard across the mast. The Anglo-Saxon kings are said occasionally to have steered their ships with their own hands.*

Ample employment was afforded for many of the people of these times in felling trees and cutting down timber for firewood, building, and other purposes, by means of which the vast forests which covered the country were gradually diminished.

This nation appears to have made considerable progress in agriculture during the period of the Anglo-Saxons, and the great bulk of the Anglo-Saxon population were engaged in producing food. A large portion of each estate was woodland, which furnished a supply of fuel, and also timber for building; and farms generally, though varying in size, were divided as at present, though in different proportions to those which now prevail, into meadow, pasture, arable, and woodland. Deep ditches, instead of walls or hedges, were then used to separate the lands. In one of the drawings contained in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript you have a representation of a farmer's wife feeding her pigs by knocking down acorns for them. Indeed, the value of a tree appears at this time to have been determined by the number of swine that could be collected under its branches. Almost three parts of the kingdom are said to have been then set apart for cattle; but there was little ploughing in proportion. An acre of land seems to have been frequently sold for the price of four sheep. A cow was of six times less value than a horse, and a donkey or mule was double the price of an ox. The farmers milked their ewes for the sake of the cheese which was made from their milk. The month of May was called *Tri-milchi*, because they then began to milk their cattle three

* Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, vol. ii., pp. 242, 243.

times a day.* September was the principal season of their religious ceremonies, and in February they made an offering of cakes to their deities, before they became converted to Christianity. Yule, answering to the present Christmas, from whence we have the name of the Yule-log, was also a time of sacred festivity.†

As regards the cattle of the Anglo-Saxons, the sheep was prized chiefly on account of its fleece, which was valued at two-fifths of the value of the whole sheep. On the other hand, swine were of no value except as food; and yet they were kept in great numbers during the whole of the Anglo-Saxon times, and none of the occupations of husbandry are more frequently mentioned than that of the swineherd. It will be recollected, too, that it was in the cottage of a swineherd that Alfred the Great on one occasion took refuge, when he received a sound scolding from the wife of the owner, who little thought who her guest was, because he forgot to turn the cakes during her absence, and allowed them to get burnt. Swine could be driven into the woods and on the waste lands equally well with neat cattle; and the food which they picked up there—the acorns and beech-mast—was much superior for its fattening effects to that which was the spontaneous growth of the pastures in which cattle were fed. The word “bacon” is said to have been applied to the flesh of the swine from this custom of feeding the animal on beech-mast, the ancient name of which was “bucon.” In “Doomsday Book,” which was composed by command of William the Conqueror, and to which I shall have hereafter more particularly to refer, pannage, or swine’s food, is returned for 16,535 hogs in Middlesex; in Hertfordshire for 30,705; and in Essex, which was one continued forest, for 92,991. In the will of a nobleman 2000 swine are left to his two daughters. Another nobleman gives to his relations a hide of land with 100 swine, and he directs 200 swine to be given to two priests in equal proportions for the good of his soul. One person gives land

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 276.

† Thompson’s Illust. Gt. Brit., vol. i., p. 29.

to a church on condition that 200 swine are fed for the use of his wife.

In addition, however, to swine and sheep, goats, geese, and fowls formed a portion of the farming stock, as also cows, oxen, horses, and mules, to which I have already referred.*

Famines were frequent at this time, owing mainly to the very imperfect system of domestic management and agricultural economy which prevailed. From the same cause a large number of cattle perished from actual want every winter. To the occurrence of famines occasional reference is made in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." Thus, in the year 1044, it is recorded as follows: "In this year was a very great famine over all England; and corn was so dear as no man before remembered, so that the sester of wheat went up to sixty pence, and even farther." And some years after this it is stated: "From the badness of the weather there was so great a famine throughout England, that many hundreds died of hunger. Oh, how disastrous! how rueful, were those times! when the wretched people were brought to the point of death by the fever; then the cruel famine came and finished them."

The occurrence of pestilence is also mentioned in the same Chronicle. Thus, in the year 664, we are told: "This year there was a great pestilence in the isle of Britain, and Bishop Tuda died of the pestilence, and was buried at Wagile," which is supposed to be a place now called Finchale, near Durham.†

On this occasion, as on several others, the plague was observed to be preceded by an eclipse of the sun, which was considered ominous of other calamities also. Thus it is recorded of this same year 664: "This year the sun was eclipsed on the 5th before the nones of May; Earconbert, King of the Kentish men, died."

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., pp. 276-279.

† Note to Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," edited by Dr Giles, chap. xxvii., p. 162.

The Venerable Bede, in his "Ecclesiastical History," also makes mention of the eclipse and plague this year: * "In the year of our Lord's incarnation 664, there happened an eclipse of the sun on the 3d of May, about ten o'clock in the morning. In the same year a sudden pestilence also depopulated the southern coasts of Britain; and afterwards extending into the province of the Northumbrians, ravaged the country far and near, and destroyed a great multitude of men."

The same historian has another record to the same effect, which is as follows: "In the year of our Lord's incarnation 729, two comets appeared about the sun, to the great terror of the beholders. One of them went before the rising sun in the morning, the other followed him when he set at night, as it were presaging much destruction to the east and west. One was the forerunner of the day, and the other of the night, to signify that mortals were threatened with calamities at both times. They carried their flaming tails towards the north, as it were ready to set the world on fire. They appeared in January, and continued nearly a fortnight, at which time a dreadful plague of the Saracens ravaged France with miserable slaughter. But they not long after in that country received the punishment due to their wickedness."

Two eclipses are, however, noted by Bede, which were not considered to prognosticate any calamity. Thus he mentions: "In the year 538 there happened an eclipse of the sun on the 16th of February, from the first to the third hour." "In the year 540 an eclipse of the sun happened on the 20th of June, and the stars appeared during almost half an hour after the third hour of the day."

He also alludes to the eclipse of the sun recorded in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" of the year 664, to the death of King Earconbert, and to the pestilence which followed it.

In the year 734 Bede tells us that "the moon on the 2d before the kalends of February, about the time of cock-crowing, was for about a whole hour covered with a bloody red, after which a blackness followed, and she regained her light."

* Chapter xxvii.

In the year 756 he records an eclipse of the sun, and after that "the moon suffered an eclipse, being most horribly black." No calamity, however, appears to have ensued.

The eclipses of the sun recorded by Bede in the years 538 and 540 are also noted in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." During an eclipse in the year 733, we are told that "the whole disc of the sun was like a black shield." And that in the year 734 "the moon was as if it had been sprinkled with blood." Several other eclipses, both of the sun and moon, are mentioned in the same Chronicle, some of which were followed by civil commotions, or the deaths of persons of consequence.

In the year 808 it is recorded that "a cross appeared in the moon on a Wednesday at dawn ; and afterwards in this year, on the third before the kalends of September, a wonderful circle was seen about the sun." No event of importance appears, however, to have ensued.

In the year 827 it is recorded : "This year the moon was eclipsed ; and the same year King Egbert conquered the kingdom of the Mercians, and all that was south of the Humber."

In the year 879 we are told that "a body of pirates drew together, and sat down at Fulham on the Thames ; and that same year the sun was eclipsed during one hour of the day."

An entry in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" records that Louis, King of the French, died the year that the sun was eclipsed.

It is also mentioned, that in the year 904, "Ethelwald came hither over sea with the ships that he was able to get, and he was submitted to in Essex. This year the moon was eclipsed."

In the year 678 it is recorded that "the star called a comet appeared in August, and shone like a sunbeam every morning for three months ; and Bishop Wilfrid was driven from his bishopric by King Egfrid." And that in the year 729 "a comet appeared, and Saint Egbert died."

It is recorded in the Chronicle for 892 that a comet appeared that year. The chronicler remarks of it : "Some men say in

English that it is a hairy star, because a long radiance streams from it, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on each side."

In 975 we are told that "a comet appeared during harvest, and there came in the following year a very great famine, and very manifold commotions among the English people."

In 744 it is recorded that "stars were seen to shoot rapidly before the death of Wilfrid, Archbishop of York."

The following entry occurs respecting the year 773: "This year a fiery crucifix appeared in the heavens after sunset; and the same year the Mercians and the Kentish men fought at Oxford; and wondrous adders were seen in the land of the south Saxons."

A still more remarkable record is that relating to the year 793: "This year dire forewarnings came over the land of the Northumbrians, and miserably terrified the people. These were excessive whirlwinds and lightnings, and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. A great famine soon followed these tokens; and a little after that, in the same year, on the 6th before the ides of January, the ravaging of heathen men lamentably destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne through rapine and slaughter. And Siga died on the 8th before the kalends of March."

In the year 979 it is recorded that there "was seen a bloody cloud, oftentimes in the likeness of fire; and it was mostly apparent at midnight, and so in various beams was coloured. When it began to dawn, then it glided away." Happily, however, no calamity followed this appalling omen.

The following entry, in the year 926, obviously relates to the aurora borealis, which was, however, then deemed ominous: "This year fiery lights appeared in the north part of the heavens, and Sihtrie perished, and King Athelstan obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians."

That which follows relates to the year 1032, and the prodigy was deemed to have been prophetic: "In this year appeared the wild-fire, such as no man before remembered; and more-

over on all sides it did harm in many places; and in the same year died Elfry, bishop at Winchester."

The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" for the year 1048 states: "In this year was a great earthquake wide throughout England." A very severe winter is also recorded this same year.

That for the next year, 1049, mentions: "This year also there was an earthquake, on the kalends of May, in many places in Worcester, and in Wick, and in Derby, and elsewhere; and also there was a great mortality among men, and murrain among cattle. And, moreover, the wild-fire did much evil in Derbyshire and elsewhere."

In the year 1060 it is recorded as follows: "In this year there was a great earthquake on the translation of St Martin; and King Henry died in France." Tempests and other natural occurrences are also alluded to in these annals. Thus, in the Chronicle for the year 1041, it is stated: "All that year was a very heavy time, in many things and divers, as well in respect to ill seasons as to the fruits of the earth. And so much cattle perished in the year as no man before remembered, as well through various diseases as through tempests. And in this same time died Elsinas, Abbot of Peterborough; and then Arnwius the monk was chosen abbot, because he was a very good man, and of great simplicity."

Of the year 1046 it is recorded: "In this same year, after Candlemas, came the severe winter, with frost and snow, and with all kinds of tempestuous weather, so that there was no man then alive who could remember so severe a winter as this was, as well through mortality of man as murrain of cattle; even birds and fishes perished through the great cold and famine."

From this entry, as also from the style of building and costume at this period, we might be led to infer that the general temperature of this country must have been much milder than it now is.

The Chronicle of the year 1039 records: "This year was the great wind."

The cultivation of the vine was introduced into England by

the Romans, and Gloucestershire was famous for the excellence of its grapes.* The lands belonging to the Church were generally the best cultivated, and the monks themselves engaged in the labours of the field.† In these times we read of the inhabitants of London being occupied in getting in their harvest from the fields which then lay within easy reach of the city, and on spots which are now, and have for centuries been, covered with houses.

An Anglo-Saxon manuscript contains a series of sketches representing the operations of husbandry during each month in the year. Ploughing is going forward in January, oxen being used for this purpose. The harness by which they were fastened was very different to any now in use, being made occasionally of twisted willows, and sometimes of the skins of whales.

Horse-flesh was at one time eaten by the Saxons, but this practice was discouraged in the eighth century, and is supposed soon afterwards to have ceased. Eels were the fish most commonly preferred, and rent was sometimes paid with them instead of money. Ale was the common drink of this time, which was prepared as at present from malted barley; and allusions are made in old manuscripts to three descriptions or qualities—viz., mild ale, clear ale, and Welsh ale. Alehouses, too, seem to have been established at this early period, as we find that priests were forbidden to frequent the "wine-tuns;" and other liquors as well as ale were sold at these places. Mead was the favourite beverage of the Welsh. Wine does not seem to have then become a common drink.

As all the guests at an entertainment drank out of the same vessel, it was thought necessary to divide this by different partitions, so that no one of the company who was greedily disposed, could get more than his proper share of the liquor before handing it on to his neighbour.‡

Persons of wealth at this period were accustomed to take four meals a day; and as flesh meat was cheap in proportion

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 283.

† *Ib.*, p. 283.

‡ Thompson's Illust. Gr. Brit., vol. ii., p. 262.

to the price of bread, there can be no doubt that it constituted a large portion of the food of all classes. The Anglo-Saxons used herbs of various kinds to season their food, but their principal vegetable ingredient was colewort, which there is reason for presuming was eaten with animal food. There was a cook in all the monasteries, though in other households the cooking was done by the female servants. A rich lady is mentioned as leaving by her will her cook to one of her friends. The ancient Saxons, before they invaded this country, were accustomed to eat raw flesh; but after they settled here, and had embraced Christianity, one of the canons of the Church directed that "if a person eat anything half-dressed, ignorantly, he should fast three days; if knowingly, four days." There were also the following quaint regulations on this subject: "For eating or drinking what a cat or dog has spoiled, he (the offending person) shall sing a hundred psalms, or fast a day. For giving another any liquor in which a mouse or a weasel shall be found dead, a layman shall do penance for four days; a monk shall sing three hundred psalms." Among the Anglo-Saxons, excessive drinking appears to have been the common vice of all ranks of people, in which they spent whole nights and days without intermission. The harp as well as the drinking-cup was handed round at their feasts, and each person was expected to sing and play in turn.*

When a stranger entered a house it was customary to bring him cold water to wash his hands, and warm water for his feet. The use of hot baths appears to have been general, and the deprivation of the use of them was inflicted by the Church as a penance, while cold bathing was enjoined as a mortification; and at the same time the penitent was to pay so little attention to his personal ornament or comfort, that, in the words of the order, "the iron should not come to his hair or nails," that is, that neither hair nor nails should be cut.†

Baptism was performed by immersion within thirty days after the birth of the child, who was anointed with the sign of

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., pp. 335, 336.

† *Ib.*, p. 337.

the cross in holy oil upon the breast; and nearly the same form of words were used as those now resorted to in the Church service.*

The names which at this period were given to different people were generally those of qualities which it was thought peculiarly desirable for them to possess. Thus, one was called Athelwulf, or the noble wolf; Behrtwulf, the illustrious wolf; Hundbert, the illustrious hound.† Ælfred signified an elf in council; Dunstan, the mountain stone; Editha, the blessed gift; Wynfreda, the peace of man; Addeve, the noble wife; and Beage, the bracelet.‡

The Anglo-Saxons were very anxious to make their children strong and well fitted for war and hunting. They sometimes made trial of a child's courage by placing him on the sloping roof of a building, to which if he held fast without screaming or seeming to be much frightened, he was called a stout herce or brave boy.§

The circumstance of so many names being derived at this period from the wolf and wolf-hunting, reminds me to mention here that wolves were at this time, from the number which infested the woods, causes of terror to many, and formed the principal object of pursuit in the chase. King Edgar, however, in the year 961, thought it necessary to take some very decided measures to free his subjects from the wolves, which came down in droves from the mountains in Wales, and made terrible havoc among the flocks and herds. He therefore changed the tribute of gold, silver, and cattle, which was paid him yearly by the Welsh, into three hundred wolves' heads. In the next place he published throughout England a general pardon for all past offences, on condition that each criminal brought him by such a time a certain number of wolves' tongues in proportion to his crimes. Upon publishing this act of grace, the wolves were hunted and destroyed in such

* Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, vol. ii., p. 256.

† *Pict. Hist. Eng.*, vol. i., p. 338.

‡ Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, vol. ii., p. 256.

§ *Ib.*, p. 257.

a manner that in three years there was not one left in the kingdom. A spirited and exciting pursuit, too, must have been a wolf-hunt for the sportsman of those days, when the country was all open, neither canals nor railways intercepting their progress; although, on the other hand, the danger of losing their prey in a wood, or of being themselves lost in a morass, must have been far from inconsiderable. The wild form and nimble gait of the sportsmen must have added greatly to the effect of the scene.

Many of the Anglo-Saxon kings were great lovers of the chase. One of them, the first Harold, was called "Harefoot," from the swiftness with which he pursued the game on foot. The huntsmen were, however, generally mounted on horseback. Boars and wild deer were the principal objects of pursuit, and hounds were trained for the purpose of hunting them down. Hares, and sometimes goats, were also hunted. Nets were frequently used, into which the hunter endeavoured to drive these animals. The chase was enlivened by the sound of the horn. Very arbitrary and rigorous laws respecting the game were enacted. Until the reign of Canute it was customary to hunt on Sundays. Hawking was also followed, and hawks were occasionally considered of great value. Bear-baiting was also practised.*

The priest celebrated the marriage in the Anglo-Saxon times, and the mutual promises contained in the English Liturgy are as ancient as the period of the Anglo-Saxons. Large presents of gold, arms, clothes, and furniture, were made at the feasts which followed them, and formed the portion of the bride, who had a right to claim from her husband, at sunrise the next day, what was termed "a morning's gift," for her own peculiar property. A man might buy a woman for his wife if he did it fairly; and when he had got a wife he had so much authority over her that for calling him disgraceful names, pulling him by the beard, wasting his property, and some other heavier offences, he might give her three blows with a stick on any part of her body excepting her head.

* Pict. Hist. Eng.; Thompson's Illust.

But if he beat her more severely, or for a less cause, he was liable to a heavy fine.*

Marriages at this period seem, however, to have been chiefly remarkable for the extraordinary festivities that accompanied them, which continued for many days, and not unfrequently terminated in events the reverse of mirthful. Alfred the Great was attacked with the disorder which never left him during the feast in honour of his marriage. Hardecanut died with the cup in his hand at the marriage festival of a noble Dane.†

The Anglo-Saxons appear at one time to have burnt the bodies of the dead. Those of criminals were commonly so disposed of. The custom of interment, however, eventually became general. At first they used merely to cover the body with a mound, or a heap of stones; but afterwards they adopted the custom of burying it in a pit or grave. Coffins in time came into use. Those for persons of wealth, were of stone; those for the poor, of wood. The corpse was sometimes covered with a sheet of lead, and was then placed in a wooden coffin. Linen shrouds were used, and the clergy were buried in the habits of their office. In one of the Anglo-Saxon missals in the British Museum is a coloured drawing of a funeral of that time. The body is represented as being placed in a stone coffin, being first enveloped in a shroud.

The funerals of rich and noble Anglo-Saxons were made occasions of great festivity; and the house in which the body lay was a perpetual scene of feasting, singing, dancing, and almost every kind of riot, which was very expensive to the relations of the deceased. In some instances it is said that the visitors went so far as forcibly to prevent the body from being interred until they were quite sure that they had spent in joviality all the property which the deceased man had left.‡

In particular parts of this country, during the time of the

* Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, vol. ii., pp. 254-256.

† *Pict. Hist. Eng.*, vol. i., p. 340.

‡ Thompson's *Illust. Gt. Brit.*, vol. ii., p. 259.

Anglo-Saxons, the people were allowed to sell their children as slaves, and this practice continued until the Norman Conquest. Slaves are consequently often mentioned among the property left by will. Indeed, the trade in slaves formed a principal part of the export traffic of the kingdom. The mission of St Augustine from Rome to this country, which effected the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, is said to have originated in the attention of Augustine's patron Gregory having been attracted by the appearance of a group of young persons from England exposed as slaves in the market-place of Rome, and whom they termed Angles. Gregory is recorded to have exclaimed, on being told who they were, that they were not Angles but angels, so fair were they in appearance. Several laws and ecclesiastical canons were afterwards passed against the sale of Christian slaves to Jews or pagans. And it was enacted that no Christians, and no persons who had not committed some crime, should be sold out of the country. Nevertheless, we are afterwards told that the practice of selling even their nearest relations had not been abandoned by the people of Northumberland. And at the time of the Conquest there is the following reference to one of our great commercial cities, which was even then distinguished by the extent of its traffic: "There is a seaport town called Bristol, opposite to Ireland, into which its inhabitants make frequent voyages on account of trade. Wulfstan (then Bishop of Worcester) cured the people of this town of a most odious and inveterate custom, which they derived from their ancestors, of buying men and women in all parts of England, and exporting them to Ireland for the sake of gain. You might have seen with sorrow long ranks of young persons of both sexes, and of the greatest beauty, tied together with ropes, and daily exposed to sale."*

Sunday was the usual day for holding markets on at this time, until the efforts of the clergy obtained the substitution of Saturday.† Sunday may probably have been appointed while Druidism was the religion of the country.

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 270.

† *Ib.*, p. 271.

The administration of justice seems at one time during the period of the Anglo-Saxons to have been in a very disgraceful condition in this kingdom. The judges and magistrates appointed in the different cities and provinces to execute the laws, appear to have been generally corrupt; and, without any regard to law or justice, consulted only their own interests. Those who made them the largest presents were sure to be favoured; and although by that means the poor were most oppressed, the rich did not entirely escape the evil arising from their partial dealings. Alfred the Great did all in his power to put an end to this system, and in one year hanged as many as forty-four judges who had been proved dishonest; but the ensuing wars, we are told, prevented his successors from carrying out his intentions. To such order, nevertheless, do the historians of his time boast that he reduced the country, that a bracelet might be hung up on the hedges, and no one would dare to steal it. We can hardly say as much for the condition of the country in our day.

King Edgar, being also determined to stop the disorders which afterwards broke out in this country, made a progress every year through some part of the kingdom, on purpose to hear complaints against those judges who had abused their authority. And he made a law that every judge convicted of giving sentence contrary to the laws should be fined twenty-six shillings (a very great sum in those days, allowing for the difference in the value of money) if he did it ignorantly, but if knowingly, should be cashiered for ever.

The ancient Britons, although they had strongholds in the woods, had no towns which really deserved to be so called. The Romans first founded towns in this country. But as early as the sixth century there were as many as twenty-eight cities in Britain. The earliest of our towns appear to be those of St Albans, then called Verulam, Carlisle, Colchester, York, Cambridge, or rather Grandchester near it; London, Canterbury, Worcester, Porchester, Warwick, Leicester, Gloucester, and Bristol. Some of the towns mentioned at that time are now unknown, either from the change of

names, or from the towns themselves having decayed. Indeed, many of the Roman towns appear to have been deserted or laid in ruins during the fierce wars that followed. It is, however, remarkable that, with few exceptions, all the towns, and even villages and hamlets, which England yet possesses, seem to have existed from the Saxon times, although, of course, since then they have greatly increased in size. And the present division of this country into parishes is, almost without alteration, as old at least as the tenth century.*

It appears most probable, from all that we can learn on the subject, that London was a British town, that is, a large enclosure protected by a rampart and fosse, previous to the invasion of this island by Cæsar. But although Cæsar crossed the Thames, he makes no mention of London. It has been conjectured, indeed, that the first cluster of houses, or huts, which may be considered the germ of the ancient London, was formed on the south side of the Thames,† that is, in Surrey, probably a little to the east of London Bridge, on the spot now occupied by the Brighton railway station. London is first spoken of by the historian Tacitus about the year 33, when it is merely mentioned as a place much frequented by merchants. In the year 62, during the revolt of Boadicea, the Roman commander abandoned London to the enemy, who massacred all the inhabitants. London appears then to have been incapable of making any defence against an enemy, and had probably no wall sufficiently strong to afford it protection. What Roman London was, is now entirely a matter of conjecture; for although pavements and other fragments of antiquity have been from time to time discovered, they merely prove that Roman structures of some splendour formerly existed on the sites where such remains have been dug up: but in regard to the buildings themselves, they afford no information, still less do they assist us in forming any idea of the general mode of building, or of the appearance of the city. The ancient wall of London, ascribed to Theodosius, Governor of Britain, began at a fort near the present site of the Tower,

* Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 349.

† *Ib.*, p. 77.

and continued along the Minories to Cripplegate, Newgate, and Ludgate. The walls are said to have enclosed an area of somewhat more than three miles in circumference, and to have been guarded by fifteen towers, which latter are conjectured to have been 40 feet high, and the walls 22 feet. The *prætorium* and its adjuncts are supposed to have occupied the site of the Poultry and Cornhill, as tessellated pavements have been discovered there, and at the Lothbury gate of the Bank, and near St Mary's, Woolnoth.*

There is an entry in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" which records that in the year 1013, King Sweyn of Denmark, who invaded this country, came to London, and that "much of his people was drowned in the Thames, because they kept not to any bridge." From this we may infer that there were at that time several bridges, though very rude in their construction, and not admitting of many persons to pass over at once. And in the account in the same Chronicle of King Godwin's advancement upon London and Southwark, in the year 1052, it is mentioned that his forces, after the flood tide, "soon drew their anchors, and held their way through the bridge by the south shore."

We must suppose that London greatly declined in appearance during the barbarous period that succeeded the departure of the Romans, when it was several times ravaged, and occasionally burnt. In the sixth century it became the capital of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Essex, and in the following one a bishop's see. In the year 886 it was rebuilt and fortified by Alfred the Great.†

All around London was at this time open country. Towards the north-east there was a deep marsh, the name of which is still retained in Moorfields, and which extended to the foot of the Roman ramparts. On the western side of the city, and at the distance of nearly two miles, the branches of a small river which fell into the Thames formed an island so overgrown with thickets and brushwood, that the Saxons called it Thorney, or the Isle of Thorns. The river surround-

* Penny Cycl., art. "London."

† Pict. Hist. Eng., vol. i., p. 162.

ing Thorney crept sullenly along; and the spot was so wild and desolate, that it is described as a fearful and terrible place, which no one could approach after nightfall without great danger. In this island there had been an ancient Roman temple, dedicated to Apollo. Sebert, King of Essex, being converted to Christianity, resolved to build a church on Thorney, having selected this spot, it is supposed, on account of its seclusion. This church was dedicated to St Peter, and was the original structure of what now forms Westminster Abbey. The bones of King Sebert are supposed still to rest within the walls of this church. The consecration of Westminster Abbey is recorded in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" for the year 1066, in the following terms: "In this year was consecrated the minster at Westminster, on Childermass day. And King Edward died on the eve of Twelfth Day, and was buried on Twelfth Day within the newly consecrated church at Westminster."

Sebert, King of Essex, is said also to have erected a cathedral church to St Paul on the site of the present building, where the heathen temple to Diana once stood.* It would appear, however, from the following entry in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" for the year 962, that this building must have been constructed before the time of Sebert, inasmuch as the record alluded to states that during the year 962 "there was a great mortality, and the great fever was in London, and Paul's minster was burnt, and that same year was again built up."

At this period, and for long after, London must have been little more than an assemblage of hovels, intersected by miry lanes, the whole enclosed by walls, except on the side towards the river. During the seventh century, however, London is mentioned as a port which ships frequented, and its most noted quay was Billingsgate, where all vessels paid toll, according to their size, on approaching the bridge.

Let us try and imagine for a few moments that we are living among our ancient British ancestors, and that we are

* Palg. Hist. Anglo-Saxons, p. 61.

about to take a survey of London as it was in their days. We are now standing in the part which is in after-ages to be called St Paul's Churchyard. That rude pile, which is constructed of huge blocks of rough stone, some upright, and others laid across them, is called the Temple of Diana. When the people become converted to Christianity, the heathen temple will be pulled down, and a church built out of its stones, which will be dedicated to St Paul. All round the temple you see huts standing, with round walls and pointed thatched roofs, and half-naked figures, looking very wild, going in and out of them. In front of the temple a road runs, if road it may be called, which seems but a succession of holes and bogs, and pieces of stone, with huts on each side of it; and at the end of the road we come to a rude stone wall, with a clumsy wooden gate or door, which seems very strong. This is one of the entrances to the city of London, and was in after-ages called the Lud-gate, or gate of the Luddites, several of whom lived in this part. We have now passed through it, and are outside the city. The wall appears to run all round it, and I see several towers every here and there on the wall, and men with bows and arrows standing on the top of them, and looking about. There is also a deep ditch round the wall, running just below it. We are now in full view of the Thames, but it is difficult to get close to its banks on account of the swamp, and the reeds growing near them. I see some canoes paddling across the river, which are going to land at the city, as there are no walls on the side towards the water. How clear the water is. Some of the half-naked figures in the canoes seem to be fishing. There, the man with the shaggy spotted skin hanging over his shoulders, has pulled up a large fish, which is now floundering about at the bottom of his little boat, and quite shakes it, the bark is so light. I observe a thick wood on the opposite shore of the river, which comes quite down to the water's edge; but I perceive two or three white huts standing in it on the brink of the river. Some hungry wolves are, I see, prowling about not far from the gate into the city, which will be ready to seize

on any stray cattle, or even a child, should it chance to come in their way.

Southwark is mentioned as a port where no one but the king took toll. It was on the banks of the river, in Castle Baynard ward, and on the south side of the present cathedral, that the residence of the Anglo-Saxon kings stood, erected either by Alfred, Edward, or Athelstane, most probably by the last, whose name is retained in that of Adel or Addle Hill. This Anglo-Saxon palace was relinquished by Edward the Confessor, who removed to that which he had erected at Westminster.

At the time of which I am now speaking, and for centuries afterwards, what at present forms Marylebone and Finsbury, and the parts of London without the walls, existed only as small and scattered villages; and vast woods and marshes stood where now a dense population exists.

I have thus endeavoured, in the two papers on domestic life in this country which I have read before you, to trace the history of civilisation in this country, and to afford a sketch of its manners and customs, from the earliest period up to the time of the Conquest.

How extraordinary is the contrast presented, as regards the present aspect and condition of this country, to what it must have afforded at the period of which I have been speaking. Where dense forests once stood, cultivated fields and rich pastures are now seen. Great cities, busy with commerce, have been raised on spots where formerly only morasses or barren heaths were to be found. Where the wild beast once had his den, quiet homesteads are now flourishing. Railways traverse the country from one end to the other through what were once impenetrable wilds; and the shrill whistle of the steam-engine is heard where the howl of the wolf or the eagle's scream was wont to resound. On the site of a cluster of miserable huts, the metropolis of the empire now stands. Throughout the country has been drained, and cultivated, and civilised, and rendered habitable, and healthy, and luxurious. And as a further result of civilisation, the rude

manners, and habits, and superstitions of those wild times have been abandoned for, and have been superseded by, the refined usages and acquirements of the nineteenth century. Most interesting is it to be able to look back through the telescope of history, on those rude though interesting times. Nevertheless, with all our progress, and our present boasted civilisation, much yet remains to be accomplished before that civilisation can be considered as complete.* We have no doubt abandoned many practices, and many customs, which were not only disgraceful to this nation, but degrading to humanity itself; and yet we still, I fear, retain several which might put even savages to shame.

* Civilisation considered as a Science, p. 354.

SOVEREIGNTY IN RELATION TO THE ORIGIN OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

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IT may be remembered (and I am especially induced to hope that it is so, now that the new volume of *Transactions* is in the hands of the members) that, on the last occasion at which I had the honour to address you, I mentioned, though I fear too cursorily, some of the necessary considerations due to an inquiry into the origin of monarchical, or, rather it should be termed, personal sovereignty. Speaking roughly, I stated that the origin of society, the origin of law, and the origin of religion, seemed to coalesce into the origin of government.

One phase of social development is currently known as the patriarchal period, and a still later development I have termed from its distinctive feature the communal period; and I hope to-night to explain how the first may be identified with the origin of the legal element—of course with the modifications such a primitive birth necessarily entails on that term—and the second with the origin of the religious element in sovereignty.

Now, this way of putting before you the object of my paper to-night, at least has the merit of suggesting an important question arising out of the consideration of sovereignty in relation to the origin of social institutions. I mean the question of the priority of law or religion as formative agents of society.

It is practically, in fact, this question which I shall attempt to solve; for both the notion of law and the notion of religion are intimately connected with the notion of sovereignty. The former, by mere logical inference, and by all juridical

definitions, depends for its origin and continuance on a determinate human superior, whether individual or corporate; the latter, originating in the feeling of reverence for departed ancestors, by the voice of all history, both primitive and modern, creates in the human mind the desire, so to speak, of submission to some superior power; and very soon in man's history the recipient of this submission is seen to be the human personifier of the divine authority. Therefore, the determination of the question of the priority of law or religion as influencing the first social institutions, and therefore the first social force impelling man onward, is essentially connected with a proper investigation into the origin and development of sovereignty.*

I may as well point out at this juncture that a subsidiary result obtained by the determination of this question (and not altogether, I venture to hope, an unimportant result) will be the introduction of another chapter into the discussion on the identification of law with the coercive commands of the sovereign.

The literature of our subject has already placed on record certain phases as to the connection of law and religion with sovereignty. I must for a moment touch upon this. Both the history of ancient law and the history of ancient religion seem to have arrived at the same conclusion as to the fact that, at *one time* in the history of sovereignty, the legislator, the judge, and the priest resided in one and the same person, who is to be identified as the personal and individual sovereign of the society accepting this identification. But this particular period, it seems to me, is either necessarily undefined altogether or tacitly antedated. Historians have not defined it, because they have not ventured so far back into the realms of history where the sway of a despotic commander is seen to be wholly independent of religious priesthood: and hence arose the practice, among philosophical writers who use the period as an element of

* *Vide* Kemble's *Anglo-Saxons*, i. 327. The historian here states the necessity of such an investigation, though he doubts the possibility of a satisfactory result.

their argument, of assuming the very earliest date, of fixing it at the dawn of society, instead of at the dawn of nationality.

But because in many historical instances religion has been the sanction at the back of law, it cannot be argued that religion preceded law. It was the sanction which enforced the Mosaic law, it was so with the Greek Themistes, it is so with the Mohammedan code. But previous to the period at which these several systems were formulated, nay, within these *very* systems, there existed a form of despotic command wholly dependent on the human will. I mean the *patria potestas*.

It is on this question that the sciences of ancient law and of religion will possibly disagree. I say possibly, for there is no sign on the face of current literature that the dispute has already commenced. Indeed, Professor Max Müller, in claiming for religion "the foundation of society," and I presume he means the historical, not the logical foundation, introduces the authority of Sir Henry Maine as an argument that the students of the history of law "have arrived at very much the same conclusion" * as the students of the history of religion. But whether this be a proper conclusion of the eminent author of the "Lectures on the Science of Religion," I trust will be fully tested during the examination of the subject I am now about to commence; though from passages which I preserve in a note,† it would almost appear that Montesquieu and Austin imply from their words an agreement on the side of the priority of the religious influence.

And, first, let me draw attention to one important fact which I believe materially influences the present conception of the question. The view that modern philosophy teaches as to man's future history, viz., that he is progressing towards a final beatitude, has necessarily thrown our ideas as to the state of primeval man entirely into the theory of his original barbarism. Politics, as conceived by the ancients, consisted wholly in preventing his retrogression; politics, as conceived by the moderns, consists in urging him forward with the

* Science of Religion, lect. iii.

† *Vide* note on p. 138.

greatest possible speed to the greatest-happiness period (if I may so paraphrase a well-known term); and naturally these opposite tenets produce a variation in the opinions on modern history and its connection with the past.* Now, it may be that the old theory of the ancients still retains its effect on modern thought by the continuance of the idea that a community of religious belief originated a community of social life; but, at any rate, the introduction of the modern idea as to primitive man facilitates, and, indeed, of itself lends an additional force to, the argument as to the priority of law.

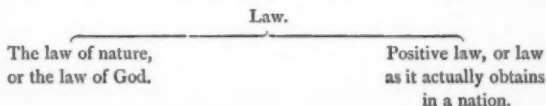
One fact may be recorded as a common attribute of both law and religion, that they bear, and have always borne, an immense preponderance in regulating the affairs of man's commune with man; and this is important in considering their connection with sovereignty. I shall take an opportunity later on of noticing the modern forms of their influence on political thought. We turn now to their first influences, and we find at the very outset they each involve the necessity of the growth of a society round a social unit. Penetrating a little further, however, it is perceivable that the forms of this society, their purpose and ultimate end, are entirely distinct. In the instance of law, the growth of the society is simply the outcome of obedience to a ruler or sovereign possessed of superior power to those forming the society. "History," says Dr Whewell, "determines in every case the person or persons in whom the supreme authority resides;"† and, in this earliest instance, history has determined this authority to reside in the person originating the society—namely, the parent. In the instance of religion, however, something more complicated must have arisen, for religion implies a notion of justice, justice implies a notion of property, property implies a notion of law. The form of society which would first generate the conception of religion as a social influence would consist, therefore, of the aggregation of several family units together,

* *Vide* Mill's *Rep. Govt.*, pp. 26, 27. I need scarcely here allude to the magnificent opening address of our learned President of the Council.

† *Principles of Morality*, book vi., cap. 6.

for thus only could the earliest form of worship—namely, ancestor worship—carry with it an adequate emotional cause.

I will first draw attention, then, to the earliest form of the influence of *law*, at least so far as that term may be applied to the germ from which has ultimately arisen our abstract conception of it. And it may be useful at this juncture, perhaps, to point out that the modern association of law and right, as opposed to power and might, is entirely a political question, not an historical or a juridical question. The growth of political and social liberty has produced in the writings of philosophers, and hence in the popular mind, an ideal system of law which may be termed "right." This ideal system the Romans termed *jus naturale*, which is inadequately translated into English, the law of nature. For instance, the *maxim* that every man is entitled to his liberty is an ideal law, or law of nature; but the *fact* that many thousands of human beings were, a few years back, in a state of positive slavery, was the law which actually obtained in certain countries, and with certain people. When, at the instance of the British Government, this state of slavery was abolished, the positive law of these countries or peoples was varied in accordance with that ideal standard of right which the British people had developed in their political thoughts. But the act of power which abolished slavery, and that which upheld it, are both equally "law." The one may be good and the other pernicious, but the definition of their effect can have no influence whatever on the definition of their position in the political system in which they are embodied. In short, the law that forms the subject of my inquiry is that species of law which has grown with the history of the nation, and developed with the progress of the people. It is what the analytical jurists term "positive law :"



I shall consider this positive law first of all with reference

to its juridical bearings ; and let me here be permitted to say that, though the writings of the analytical jurists are uninviting perhaps to the general reader, they open up a wide field rich with material for historical thought.

Now every law or rule is a command *originating from a sovereign power* ; and in fact may be *identified* with the coercive force of the sovereign. In the infancy of society the promulgation of a command did not carry with it any power for analogous cases which might arise in the future. It dealt with the one question by which it was called into action. As an old writer has expressed it, "*Principes erant quasi animatæ leges*" ("The chiefs themselves were the laws"). The abstract notion of command, indeed, did not, and could not exist : the offender and the ruler both acted objectively, for they represented to each other the respective positions which they occupied—the one giving forth a command, the other surrendering obedience : and this, not without any forethought as to the rectitude of their relative positions, but with the spontaneity arising from the pressing wants of the moment—the resultant of the *external* fact, as Dr Whewell terms it.

Now the only two forms of society which admit of the identification of law as the coercive force of the sovereign are the early parental groups in which father and offspring stand face to face, and modern society, in which no political institution places itself between the sovereign and the subject. Of course, it is the latter which has presented itself for analysis to the jurist ; and it is this analysis which enables history to detect the earlier type.

But Sir Henry Maine, himself a distinguished jurist, has applied history to this analytical definition, and has *thereby* introduced the first warning note of opposition. He claims that the process of abstraction should not replace the study of history, and proves his claim to be a right one, by showing the opposition that history brings to the conclusion of the analytical jurists.

But after all, this opposition is not a thorough one, for it

represents only a middle period of history, not the beginning. The principal source of Sir Henry Maine's arguments against this definition of law is the existence of customary law in most nations of modern civilisation, and "the inconceivable small constraint" which is applied for conformity to this species of law. No doubt the splendid series of lectures on "Early Institutions" are sufficiently known for me to pass over this portion of my paper with less precision than I should certainly desire, in order to proceed with the remaining questions, which more intimately engage us to-night.

In the first place, then, it must be observed, that Sir Henry Maine's historical scope is necessarily, for his object, restrained within a limit of which I have ventured outside. But even taking the limitation of history which is deemed to be necessary for juridical purposes, there is much within this limit which, if it does not argue *for*, certainly in no way puts a material obstacle to the point I here raise. Customary law is there clearly shown to obtain in families or village communities (p. 381) not as between man and man, but as between family and family. Inside the family unit, the *patria potestas* is exercised by a half-civilised man over wife, child, and slave (p. 393), which may be associated less with invariable order than with inscrutable caprice (394). Now, observing that I have used as near as possible the very words of Sir Henry Maine, this is exactly the form of law with which I have been dealing. The only difference arises from the position of the author of the law—the parent. In my case I have assumed his independence as the representative sovereignty of the period: in the instance of Sir Henry Maine he is certainly dependent on the tribal chief. But this dependence is not complete—his parental despotism is still untrammelled and uncurtailed; and, without yet appealing to history, it forms itself almost into a logical conclusion, that this form of parental law was not the product of the statesmanship of the period, but rather of the history of the period; for, as it held its own against the centralising effect of coalition, it must have existed long enough by itself to appre-

ciate the cause of its first existence, as well as the desire for continuation.*

In point of fact, this additional phase in the identification of law and force implies shortly the following historical positions: (1.) That they exactly quadrate when the centralising authority of the state has for its units of subjection the individual man, as distinguished from the corporate family. In the parental society, which first gave birth to the objective form of law, the units of subjection are the *individual members* of a natural family dependent on its author; in modern society, which furnished the analytical jurists with their definition of the abstract conception of law, the units of subjection are the *individual members* of a political state dependent on its sovereign. Both these forms of society impel the identification of law and force; both of them represent the obedience coming from individual persons. But (2.) between these two extremes lies a whole field of law (as connected with the supreme sovereignty, not of course with the immediate), which Sir Henry Maine has applied to the question of this identification, namely, customary law. Thus it will be seen how intimately and materially connected is the proper understanding of the history of law with the nature of sovereignty: taken in connection with the immediate sovereign it *always* can be identified with the coercive force of that sovereign; taken with the supreme sovereignty it *sometimes* has the significance of permission—what the sovereign permits he commands.

The juridical definition of law, then, leads us to conclude that there are three periods of history by which the develop-

* I may here note that the subject of the earliest source of law has been incidentally touched upon by other writers than Sir Henry Maine, though not with the direct application that that eminent jurist brings to bear. Austin himself, though the position I adopt is more historically a confirmation of his definition of law, says, that the natural order in which the law of any country arises, or is founded, seems to be, first, rules of positive morality (lect. xxxvii.); Montesquieu also says: "Dire qu'il n'y a rien de juste, ni d'injuste que ce qu'ordonnent ou défendent les lois positives, c'est dire qui avant qu'on eût tracé de cercle, tous les rayons n'étaient pas égaux" ("Esprit des Lois," i., cap. i.).

ment of sovereignty may be classified. The latest period is practically represented by European, or, as it is termed, civilised society; the middle period by Eastern crystallisation of village communities; and the early period by modern barbarism.

It is the latter which I contend has hitherto not been fully represented by the students of political institutions. But stepping outside those limits of history which have hitherto bound this subject, as indeed many others, within a compass altogether too restricted to be termed scientific, we may find that the identical group within which parental law was predominant *is an ascertained type of primitive society*—is, I may rather say, the first indication of man's capability of obedience to man, and therefore the first indication of his progress onward. I do not say this form of society was formed merely by the will of the members, but that it was the almost necessary result of physical and natural external causes.

For as it is certain that history commenced with the first man's talk to his first child, so it is postulated that law began with the first man's command to the only imaginable fellow-being who would receive or obey his command (without some ostensible and agreed personal benefit), namely, his child. An agreed benefit could arise only from such an origin of society as implied in the social-compact theory, which is now altogether exploded as a scientific view of the question. Writers on primitive man afford the historical evidences that the parental form of sovereign power was the primitive form; for they not only perceive, by examination into existing data, that parental groups, centring round a single pair, represent the most primitive form of society, but they establish it in somewhat definite continuance from the physical prolonged infancy, and corresponding intellectual deficiencies of early mankind. It would be needless, and indeed almost wearisome, to detail the evidences on this head. The science of sociology assumes it as its definite starting-point; and we may not therefore be very far wrong in adopting Plato's

acceptation of the Homeric Cyclops as evidence that such primitive societies existed.*

Thus, too, another juridical point is arrived at ; for the first idea of law, under the aspect of a spontaneous command, actually no doubt consisted of a strict adhesion to general utility, as determined by the wants of the moment of those for whose benefit it was promulgated. One of the greatest writers on the utilitarian theory distinctly perceives that a society is practically incapable of making any progress until it has learnt to obey ;† and the unconscious habit of obedience is the first lesson which man receives from those impulses of his nature, which no definition can reach, but which, at this distance of time, are giving to the philosophy of history an importance almost as great as Divine inspiration. It seems to imply irreverence to the magnificent formulary of Bentham—the greatest happiness of the greatest number—to apply it to so lowly a state of men's desires as the one supposed under the circumstances just mentioned ; but in reality this will be found to be its greatest historical assistance. One of the reasons for its rejection by many classes of thinkers, is its application to the domain of ethics, instead of a strict adhesion to that for which its author persistently wrote, namely, legislation.‡ Modern political history distinctly repudiates the proposition that morality is effected by political forms ;§ and the present attempt to penetrate to the origin of law defines the action of general utility to have actually commenced previous to, and proceeded on its course for a time quite independently of, the action of morality.

It is true that we must restrict our sense of the greatest happiness to almost animal desires alone ; it is true that we must restrict our conception of the greatest number within a limit which Austin has undertaken to term ridiculous ; but, on the other hand, we give a definite starting-point to the

* See Principles of Sociology, *passim*.

† Mill's Rep. Govt., p. 37.

‡ Early Institutions, p. 400.

§ See particularly Freeman's History of Federal Government, vol. i., p. 125, cap. iv.

action of general utility, namely, when man passed from mere wandering isolation to a form, however simple, of society.

We will now consider the connection of religion and sovereignty.

I am strangely confirmed in the views expressed in my former paper to the society, that reverence for ancestors held an important place in early social thought, by the last new work of Mr Spencer, "The Principles of Sociology." I think there can be little doubt that he has established this point on sufficiently scientific bases for critical acceptance. And, inasmuch as ancestry worship and communal society, in some form or other, are conterminous, we arrive at a pretty clear historical order for the establishment of law and of religion as social institutions. Indeed, by an examination of the terminology used by Professor Max Müller, in his "Science of Religion," it will be seen that, practically, what he establishes for religion is only the chief agency in the formation of *nationalities*, not in the formation of society, though the indefiniteness that I have before noticed has made him accept the one for the other.

It is the fear of the living that becomes the root of the political control, and the fear of the dead the root of the religious control. But I wish to point out that the religious control I speak of here is in no wise to be taken as a portion of the modern history of religion. Ethics has now linked itself to religion, just as we have seen that it has linked itself with law. This was not so in early times. I speak merely of that portion of religion, namely, ancestor worship, which affected sovereignty; and I do not profess to explain the wherefore. Nor am I content with the theory of Mr Spencer. I am quite ready to believe that every thought and every action of mankind have a genealogy leading from the most remote period down to the present time; but I cannot perceive how modern conceptions of religion, as a rule of conduct for the future, not merely the superstitious veneration of the past, as rules of morality, not only worship of the supernatural, become dependent upon the discovery of the

historian or the deduction of the sociologist. The historian and the sociologist would perceive, in point of fact, only that portion of religion (for it cannot be said that it is necessarily the whole of it) which affects man in relation to his social aspect, and not his individual mind.

But, as an influencing *social institution*, it cannot be denied that ancestor worship was the first form of the application of religion to the practical wants of mankind. In tracing the development of ancestor worship, we are tracing the development of sovereignty; for, when the fear of the dead began to make man look back to the past, it naturally made him associate with his companions of the past, instead of separating at the death of the parent chief.

This is the period at which customary law grew up, at which the internal will of mankind began to exert itself. The form of general utility which I have noticed as existent among the earliest of mankind was, of course, an *unconscious* form of it—the result merely of the external factor. Its exertion was as spontaneous as the command which generated it, namely, the pressing need of the moment. When we arrive at a conscious form of general utility, or as we may now call it, positive morality, we arrive at that form of society where the religious conception ultimately formed itself into a power.

This form of society is that so generally known as the communal. It has for its distinctive feature the village community, originating from associated patriarchal families. Conscious general utility worked out its influence by forming a longer, and consequently more extensive, congregation of human beings; which, again, necessarily consisted of a number of local chiefs—if they may be so termed for want of a better word—who had gathered around them the social units within which the germ of law already existed. These chieftains themselves now obeyed, or adhered to, a common superior, who, from no special political sagacity belonging to the congregating families, developed into an individual chieftain—the prototype of the lesser chiefs.

The authority of this chief was based upon a wider ground-work than the authority of a natural father, and his authority formed a new phase of society which was larger, more complete, more capable of progression, than the separated units. This society gradually invested the author of its governing power, the recipient of its obedience, with a positive and conscious morality which should descend to later times, when the men who obeyed one chieftain no longer lived to render homage to his successor, when the sons of these men no longer could trace uninterruptedly, through their popular legends, the cause of their adhesion to a present sovereign. It was the existence of this positive and conscious morality which enabled the son, or some other member of the family, of an expiring chieftain, to exercise the prerogative and assume the privileges of his predecessor. It did not assume what we may more correctly term its religious aspect, until it had descended to the children of succeeding generations; for the traditionary respect (embellished at every stage of the descent) carried backward from existing times the thoughts, nay, the religious capacity, of its people, to an age gone by, and which gradually went beyond tradition into the domain of mythos.* There it connected the first chieftain with an ideal deity, personifying the human superior from the natural objects which became sources of wonder and awe to the primitive childishness of the human mind—there it connected the judgments of the present chieftain with the divine wisdom, the Themistes, which he alone could exercise. It was thus that the notion of *priest* became encircled round the power of every generation of chieftain; and it was thus that the preponderating influence of religion associated itself with this stage, and, as it were, excluded an earlier insight into the previous existence of social man.

Of course the separation of races—the distinction of Shem

* Austin, though he does not pretend to trace the historical origin of government, clearly perceives that custom and prejudice are among the causes of the origin of government. It is at the stage mentioned in the text that these two causes appear historically (Austin's Lectures, vi. 1, p. 302, Campbell's edit.).

and Japhet from Tur—would be the first great starting-point at which communal society developed itself. The sub-branches of the two great races took the form which they learned from the parent stem, and so carried on its historical existence to Israel, to Greece, to Rome, to Celt, and to Teuton.

I will conclude what I have to say to-night by a glance at the nature of subsequent influence of these two social forces—law and religion—and their important connection with the history of sovereignty. We have seen law independent and law coalescing with religion; we have seen religion in its germ assisted by law; but we have not seen, nor could a single essay nor a single volume, adequately review, their subsequent influences in forming the society in which we now live. Law (and here I speak of modern law), from being shut out altogether, as an element of history, has been allowed to assume an important place as one of its chiefest guides,* and the elegant and masterly pen of Dr Arnold has boldly set out its importance.† Religion, from being degraded to the place of dogmatical theology, has been lifted into the wide domain of science. These facts alone tell an unadorned and self-giving feature of their history; but I would, for a moment, pass to a more special consideration, because I believe that will appeal to my hearers with the readiest power. Take one great feature of our own European history—a feature that is often unrecognised when combating with the most important political struggles of the day, namely, the conception of nationality. With us it is connected with distinct boundaries, distinct countries, with England and with Germany (Deutschland), with France and with Italy. At an early period of European history, *the city* marked at once the boundary and the name of nation. Greek nationality was essentially and wholly city life—Roman none less so. First and foremost a man was a Spartan, an Athenian, and after this a Greek. Roman nationality bore the impress of the immortal city, by the extension of the citizenship over a wider area than Greece

* Westminster Review for 1842, on Science of History.

† Introductory Lectures to Modern History, pp. 92, 93.

ever allowed, but they were citizens, not fellow-countrymen, of Rome, not of Italy. Now where may we seek for an explanation of this difference between ancient and modern ideas of nationality? Strange though it may seem, it is from a Semitic source—the Judaic. The early Eastern and the early European nations were essentially federations of tribes without distinct boundary lines for the whole; but the Israelites threw around their land, as around their whole institutional life, the mantle of religious exclusiveness—their land did not exist without definite boundaries, for it was a promised, a holy land. And thus when Christianity—Judaic in origin and Judaic in life-giving influence—worked out its influence on European politics, one of its results was to throw around the territory occupied by the tribal races of our forefathers the definition of country, and to teach modern political language two of its most important words—patriotism and fatherland.

It was by such powerful aid as this that the monarch became recognised as the lord of the land—the King of England, not of the English; that Parliament assembled as a portion of the sovereign power of Great Britain, not as the witan of the British people.

With the Eastern nations, in fact, religion forms the main-spring of all national life; and the most celebrated codes of so-called law mainly consist of formularies for religious observances, *e.g.*, that of Manu and the Mosaic. With us in the western world, it is owing to the immortal and abiding greatness of Rome that the first severance of law and religion was made when taken as governing agencies of the State. The most remarkable proof of this is, that when Christianity had fought out its long fight against Roman paganism, no alteration was needed in the institutes of the pagan emperors for adaptation to Christianised subjects. Roman law still abides with Christian law; and it is to this fact, or rather to its influence on our race, we are indebted for those strange fictions which clothe the modern monarchical principles of Europe, and wherein the fusion of the two great influences has become complete at no expense of political liberty.

Such was not the case with other great bodies of law. We know, for instance, the havoc that St Patrick is recorded to have made in those celebrated codes of Ireland which have lately received the valuable addition of a commentary by Sir Henry Maine. We here perceive the Christian precepts alongside the old pagan rites, the old genealogies linked with the genealogies from Noah and his sons; but they are palpable incongruities, and, in the political remains of ancient Erin, form only too true an index to the incongruities of modern Ireland, and to the history, yet unwritten, of those forces which have prevented the once great Celtic people from developing a great Celtic nation, and, therefore, a great Celtic sovereignty.

I think, then, that I may conclude from these rough jottings of a more laborious investigation that the history of sovereignty commences as the author of law, and therefore the author of society; that, later on, when other and more complicated aggregations of society begin to form themselves, it is associated with a religious element, necessary, of course, to this stage of political life; and that, finally, in its most fully developed state, it loses the sacredness of its personality, and assumes the representative, or, to speak more correctly, the corporate form: And, further, that in each of these distinct epochs it is connected intimately with the growth of its dependent society—in the first and last as the uncontrollable governors of its subjects, and in the middle or transition period, as the priesthood of their religious faith—their Abraham, or their Agamemnon.

THE EARLY INTERCOURSE OF THE DANES AND FRANKS.

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THE early history of Denmark may be divided into two portions. For the first we have as materials only the native sagas and legends, which have been preserved for us by Saxo Grammaticus and others. The second portion, which covers a period when Denmark had entered into relations, sometimes hostile and sometimes diplomatic, with the great Frankish empire to the south, is illustrated by occasional notices in the contemporary monastic annals. These notices are of course of the highest value and interest. It seems clear that, if we are ever to glean any profitable materials about the earlier period, we must first gain a firm foothold upon the later, where we can check tradition by contemporary narrative; and I now propose to re-examine the history of the Danes from the time when they first appear in the Frankish chronicles, down to the death of their famous King Godfred.

The subject is at some points very crooked and perplexing, and, notwithstanding the critical sifting it has had both from native and foreign inquirers, is still much confused; nor can we ever hope to make all clear where authorities of co-ordinate value are at direct issue with one another.

The first point that seems to be well established is, that the term Denmark does not in early times connote the homogeneous kingdom that it does now, but that within the borders of the present Denmark there was a congeries of several small states, which were gradually coalesced into one. The first king who, in the northern traditions, united the whole, and performed in Denmark what Edward the Elder did in England, and Ivan the Terrible in Russia, was Gorm, generally

known as Gorm the Old, but with him we have not to do at present.

We have not material to decide how many and what were the petty sovereignties that divided Denmark in early times, but we may with some confidence discriminate at least three of these principalities, two in Jutland and one in the isles.

It is a very familiar fact that Jutland did not form a part of the original Denmark, the old kingdom of Lethra, and it is very probable that, until comparatively recently, it was ruled by its own kings, perhaps always subordinate in a sense to the dynasty at Lethra, but yet sufficiently independent to be named as sole sovereigns, and when thus named, to confuse the lists of kings that have puzzled so many inquirers. This is a well recognised fact among northern historians.

As I have said, in Jutland there were two principalities. Petrus Olaus speaks of the Reges Norjuciæ et Sinjuciæ,* that is, of the Northern Jutes and Southern Jutes; and the testimony of tradition is here amply confirmed in other ways. Thus I find Dr Latham, who knows Denmark well, saying: "Between the South and North Jutland dialect there is at least one important difference: the absence of the post-positive article. . . . Nor is this all. The boundary was originally a forest, the remains of which are still indicated by the names: Rodding (clearance), Oster Vedsted, Vester Vedsted, and Jeruvud."† It is probable that, at the beginning of the eighth century, both these sections of Jutland obeyed one ruler. We will now pass on to Denmark proper, the Denmark which had its capital at Lethra; this comprised the Danish islands, Laaland, Funen, Falster, Zealand, and Langeland. It comprised further (and this fact must never be overlooked in examining the history of this period) a portion of the mainland, namely, Scania or Schonen, Halland, and Bleking. Scania is reckoned as belonging to the Danes in the account of Othere's voyage at the end of the ninth century. "Afterwards," says Geijer, "it is called the fairest part of Denmark,

* Langebek, i. 98; Kruse, Chron. Nortm., i.

† The English Language, 5th edit., p. 109.

although sometimes severed from its dominion, bearing the yoke reluctantly, successfully resisting the whole Danish force, and excelling Zealand and Jutland in men and weapons. Halland and Bleking are distinguished by Saxo as offshoots of Scania, stretching towards Norway and Gothland, and were comprehended under that name."*

The fact of Denmark including several states in early times is, as I have said, a primary postulate of all sound inquiry on this question. Another one is, that the history of Denmark at that period is so intimately intertwined with that of Sweden and Norway on the north, and Saxony on the south, that we cannot disentangle it without a very close criticism of those countries.

Sweden also comprised at least three important sections, which in early times were more or less independent, although I fancy Geijer has produced an impression that the division lasted longer than it really did. At least from the times of Harald Hildetaand the country seems to have formed a substantive whole. The three sections to which I refer were: (1.) Suithiod proper, including the old provinces of Sudermanland, Westmanland, Tiundaland, Attundaland, and Sioaland;† (2.) East Gothland; and (3.) West Gothland. I shall not stay to define the boundaries of these sections, as I believe that, during the period we are examining, they all three obeyed the kings who ruled at Upsala.

In regard to Norway, I have a little more to say. I believe the tradition to be reliable, which makes the old race of kings, the Ingling, be driven away from Upsala by Ivan Vidfame, who replaced them by the Scioldings, and that when they escaped from Suithiod they went away to Westfold, where they eventually founded a fresh sovereignty, that of Norway. For a long time, however, indeed, until the days of Harald Harfager, their dominion was confined to Westfold. They are called kings of Westfold by Snorro (*vide* Laing's translation, i. 258, etc.). Westfold, in fact, was the nucleus of the succeeding kingdom of Norway; but at that time the rest

* Geijer's History of Sweden, 16.

† Geijer, 20.

of Norway was partitioned among a great number of petty chieftains, many of them styled kings in Snorro's narrative; thus he speaks of the kings of Nerike (255), Westmor (259), Alfheim (*ib.*), Agder (*ib.*), Vingulmark (260), Hedemark (263), Möre (278), Romsdal (*ib.*), etc. With these petty chiefs, we have not now to deal. It would appear that, in each of the modern provinces of Raumarige, Ringerige, Nerike, Hedemark, Gudbrandsdal, Hadeland, etc., there was formerly an independent sovereign—the termination *rik* or kingdom to several of them favours this view—but at the time to which we are devoting our attention, several of these petty states had been amalgamated, and formed a powerful and little studied kingdom named Viken, which comprised “that great indenture of the Norwegian coast, called the Skager Rack, between the Naze of Norway and the Fiord of Christiania. This indenture was known in the Middle Ages as Viken, or the Wick or Vik. It gave their name to the Vikings.”* “Torfæus tells us that the whole of the country in the south of Norway, which surrounds the Bay of Opslo, or Osloa, or Christiania, was anciently called Vika, and its islands the Vikr islands. It comprehended the provinces of Raumarik, Ringarik, Hadeland, Thotnia, Hedemark, and Gudbrandsdal. This country, in modern maps, is called the ‘Government of Agerhus,’ being about 200 miles long, and 100 miles broad.”† Vika is specially mentioned among the kingdoms conquered by Harald Harfager, and Petrus Olaus “speaks of *Vickia olim regnum*.”‡

Having discriminated the various divisions of Scandinavia, we must now consider the condition of the countries to the south, with whose history that of Denmark is intimately twined; and here our best guide is the edition of Spruner's “Historical Atlas” which is now publishing, and on which the very latest investigations on the subject are condensed. Jutland, at the beginning of the ninth century, was separated from the land of the Saxons by the Treen and the Slie. The

* See Laing's *Heimskringla*, i. 44, 45.

† Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, i. 175.

‡ *ib.*, i. 174.

gap between the points where those rivers approached nearest to one another was occupied by the Dannewirke, and earlier still by the Kurwirke, a great buttress which, like Offa's Dyke in Britain, formed the boundary between the two nationalities on either side. Between this boundary and the Eider was a strip of frontier land, a march which was known as the "Danicus limes," "a no-man's-land," or neutral territory between the two races. South of the Eider lay Saxonia, or the land of the Saxons. The Saxons were divided by the Elbe into two sections. Those who dwelt beyond the river in the modern Holstein were known as Nordalbingians, and also as Nordliudi (*vide infra*). They fell into three divisions, namely, the Thiatmarsgi or Thiod Marsgi, who occupied Ditmarsh; the Holsati, Holzati, or Holsætas, from whom Holstein takes its name; and the Stormarii, of whom Hamburg was somewhat later the capital.

The "Danicus limes," which was the frontier of the Nordalbingians on the north, and which extended probably to the sea on the east, was in later times continued by a second strip of frontier or march, which ran north and south to the west of the Delvena, the Schwentine, and the line of crooked lakes between those rivers. This was called the "Limes Saxonicus," and separated the Saxons from the Wagrians and other Slavic tribes to the east. Nordalbingia was thus roughly bounded by the Elbe, the sea, the Eider, and the 28th degree of longitude.

The Saxons south of the Elbe, who occupied chiefly Hanover and Westphalia, also fell into three divisions—the Westphalians in Westphalia, the Angrarians in Engern, and the Eastphalians to the east of Engern, on the frontier of the Slavonians.

As has been shown so clearly by Kemble, the mark was the unit of the political organisation of the Teutonic peoples, the primitive settlement of a man and his family in the primeval forest or prairie. From the copartnership of several marks, for purposes of administration, etc., arose the gau or shire, and eventually the gaus were themselves included in

larger administrative areas which formed provinces or states. Marks, gaus, and provinces were not bounded by great natural barriers, but, at most, by such transitory limits as forests, etc. Their shape and limits were co-ordinate with the exigencies of the settlements. We cannot, therefore, point to any natural features as the lines which separated Westphalia, Engern, and Ostphalia from each other. We can only enumerate the gaus that formed each, and which were irregular in shape and size. They are admirably figured in Spruner's Atlas, map of Germany, No. 3. The same rule applies to the frontier line that separated the Saxons from most of their neighbours. On the east the boundary for the most part is sharp enough. There we have two hostile and rival races, and we have an unmistakable barrier between them. This was the Elbe, and its tributary, the Sala, which, from Naumburg-on-the-Sala, on the south, to the junction of the Delvena with the Elbe, formed a continuous limit to the two races—the Germans and Slavonians; but on the south-west and north-west the limits of Saxonia were as irregular and impatient “of natural frontiers” as those of our English shires. On the south, Saxonia was bounded by Thuringia and the Frankish dominion, and the boundary, east and west, meandered irregularly between 51° and $51^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat. On the south-west, it nowhere touched the Rhine, from which it was separated by a narrow border of Frank territory; but the boundary ran nearly parallel with the grand old river from about 50° to 52° N. lat. From the latter point it trended more to the north-west, still bounded by the Frankish territory, and following the limits of the modern province of Westphalia. Roughly, the southern frontier of the Saxons was formed by the river Lippe. Between Saxonia and the sea, except in the limited area occupied by the estuary of the Elbe, and the tract north of it as far as the Eider, lived the Friesians. They occupied the whole seaboard, from the southern boundary of Holland as far as the estuary of the Elbe. The dunes, islands, and marshes that characterise that coast were their homes. Inland the amount of their extension was very variable. They

were frontagers both of the Franks and Saxons ; and in so far as they bounded the latter, they are very interesting to our present inquiry. The islands and strip of coast that lined the estuary of the Weser, which then had an outlet into the now enclosed and much-widened Jade Basin, formed a gau called Riustria, which was very famous as the first appanage granted by the Frank emperors to a Danish prince. Its southern and more continental portion was called Upriustria, while the northern and more insular was named Utriustria. The most northern of the still remaining Friesic islands, now called Wangeroog, which was then, doubtless, much larger and nearer the mainland, formed, with the opposite promontory, the gau of Wanga ; while the modern districts of Harlingerland and East Friesland were occupied by four gau—Nordendi on the sea ; Asterga, to the south of this ; and Federgeve and Emsga occupying the country of the lower Ems. It was no wonder the Norsemen are found almost constantly on the Friesic coast. The islands that lined it and filled the estuaries of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems, were the very paradise of such freebooters, such sites as they loved to find and make into their arsenals on the coasts of Britain and Gaul.

We must now in concluding our topographical survey describe the position of the Slavic tribes who bordered upon the Danes and Saxons. As I have said, the Elbe and the Sala formed the great frontier line between Saxony and Slavonia. The most northern of these Slaves, who bordered on the Saxons, were the Obotriti, whose relatives of the same name lived far away on the borders of the Danube. At the accession of Charlemagne it would seem they were bounded on the west by the Trave ; but in the course of the Saxon war we are told how he transplanted a large number of the Nordalbingian Saxons within the Frankish empire. He granted their lands to the Obotriti. These latter were, as I believe, and as they are held by several authorities, the Wagrians, who occupied the modern district of Wagrien, whose chief town was Aldunburg, now represented by the village of Oldenburg. The Obotriti proper were the eastern neighbours of

the Wagrians, and occupied the greater part of the modern duchy of Mecklenburg. They were bounded on the west by the Trave, and stretched along the coast of the Baltic as far as the Warnow, following the course of that river and of its eastern feeder, the Nebel, as far as the little lake upon which is the village of Krakow. The boundary then ran east in a toe-like projection, and included the larger part of the lake of Muritz, and its neighbours. On the south the limit of the Obotriti was, probably, the meandering boundary of the modern Mecklenburg; while on the south-west the Elbe separated them from the Saxons. They had a great trading mart on the coast named Reric, to which I shall presently refer, while their capital was called Mickleburg, or the great town, the modern Mecklenburg. Within the above limits the Obotriti were divided into several tribes, such as the Polabi, Warnabi, and Smeldingi. These were specific names, chiefly of localities, and all included in the generic name Obotriti. The Obotriti were faithful allies of the Franks, who found them very useful in their struggles with the Saxons, who were thus squeezed on either side like the iron between hammer and anvil. More faithful to the traditions of the race were their great opponents and neighbours on the east, the Wiltzi—who, in their own tongue, were called Lutici. They occupied the coast from Warnow as far as the Oder, which divided them from the Pomerani.* They were already on the Oder in the days of Ptolemy.† By Ptolemy they were called Beltoi. "They were famous in early times for their warlike habits, whence the other Slavonians called them Wolves, which was probably the origin of the tale in Herodotus of a northern tribe annually transformed into wolves. Wilk in Slavonian means wolf; in the plural this is Wilzi, which is the native form of the tribal name. They were otherwise known as Lutici, from Lithuanian *lut*, *liat*, ferocious, connected with the Greek *lukos* and the Latin *lupus*, a wolf, and Weleti, Woloti, Welatabi, etc., from *welot*, *wolot*, meaning a giant, all of which denote the reckless character of

* Adam of Bremen, Zeuss, 658.

† Bohucz, *Histoire des Sarmates*, 465, 469.

the race." This and the following notice of them is taken from the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, vol. xxvi., pp. 76, 77 :

"When their fame spread over Europe during the Middle Ages, the Germans and Scandinavians invented marvellous tales concerning them, and finally declared them to be a nation of sorcerers. A sword that worked wonders was called from their name walsung, welsung, welsi. The 'Volsunga Saga,' in which we have the fable of some men who transformed themselves into wolves, derives its title from the same source. The Baltick was called after them Wildamor, the sea of the Weleti; and their capital city was the famed Vinetha, in Slavonian Volin, situated at the mouth of the Oder. According to Venantius Fortunatus, and to Beda, the Weleti penetrated between 560 and 600 into Batavia, and settled near the city of Utrecht, which from them was called Wiltaburg, and the surrounding country Wiltonia. Being separated from the other Slavonians by the German nations, the Weleti were unable long to preserve their independence, and in the course of time either lost their nationality altogether or ultimately rejoined their countrymen. Unquestionable proofs, however, of their having settled in the Netherlands exist in the names of the cities evidently, as Wiltswen in Holland; Weltenburg, near Utrecht, etc., and in such purely Slavonian names as Kamen, Sweta, Widenitz, Huduin, Zwola, Wispe or Wespe, Slota, etc."

While the Obotriti were in close alliance with the Franks, the Wiltzi were at deadly issue with them, and were the friends of the Danes. We must remember this closely in following the narrative of the early struggles on the marches of Denmark. Having mapped out rudely the topography of the Norse country and its frontiers, we are now in a position to examine its early history; and, as I have remarked, in order to do this profitably, we must begin with the notices of it in the contemporary Frankish annals, and thence, if possible, work back to the earlier uncertain land of tradition beyond. The earlier of these notices reaching down to the year 879 have been abstracted with great pains and accuracy, and have been elaborately and learnedly annotated by M. Kruse in his most useful work entitled "*Chronicon Nortmannorum*." This has been the chief mine whence I have drawn

my materials. Besides this work, I have consulted the National Collection of Chronicles, edited by Pertz, known as the "Germanicarum Scriptores," and the learned notes which the various contributors to that work have furnished. The work of Kruse gave rise to some controversy, and *inter alia* M. Kunik published at St Petersburg a very elaborate dissection and criticism of a portion of it under the title "Kritische Bemerkungen zur den Rafnische Antiquites Russes und zur den Kruseschen Chronicon Nortmannorum." This was read before the St Petersburg Academy, and has been published in the first volume of the *Melanges Russes*, abstracted from the *Bulletin* of that institution. This I have carefully examined, and also the more recent authorities for Carolingian history, such as M. Warnkœnig and Gerard, "Histoire des Carolingiens," and Zeller's "History of Germany." Depping's well-known work, "Les Expéditions Maritimes des Normands," only becomes of value at a later period. Let us now turn to our subject.

The first mention of the Norse folk in the annals of the Carolingian period was in the year 777. The Frank empire was then in the height of its glory. On every side its neighbours had had to succumb and submit to it—Aquitaine and Brittany, Spain as far as the Ebro and Lombardy, the Wiltzi on the Elbe and their relatives in Bohemia, the Bavarians, the Saxons, and the savage Avars, had all been trampled under, and the sceptre of the great Karl was more or less obeyed from the Elbe to the Ebro, and from the North Sea to the Adriatic. It was a colossal power; and the imperious hand which held the reins would not brook a half obedience while he had both the vigour and the power to enforce his way. His soldiers were not decrepit and worn out by luxury like those of the later Roman empires. What virtue there was in Europe was of the martial kind; and it might well have seemed to an historian who surveyed the world from Ingelheim or Nimwegen, that his master held the destinies of Europe in his grasp, and if he chose to crush its liberties to powder, he had only to put his will in practice.

There was probably never a period in its history when a centralised despotism, which was able to crush out all provincial individualities and liberties, was so nearly constituted in Europe.

Yet at this very time there was being nursed in two isolated areas a power and vigour which, although not commanding such great legions, was yet able, by the fierceness and persistence of its blows, to shatter the mighty edifice into fragments, to honeycomb the unwieldy mass with its influence, and to sow in its stagnant and dead fields a crop of new ideas, new aims and ambitions, which at length restored to the world some of that salt which it had lost, and created "a new departure" in its history. The two elements that went to make up this power were the Saracens in the south, and the Norsemen in the north. It may be that if the great emperor had foreseen the future history of these races, that he would have concentrated his battalions upon them and crushed them. But who could so have foreseen it, at least in the case of the Norsemen; nor did their opportunity come until he and his sword were buried, and his grandchildren were fighting with each other for their inheritance, and opening gaping wounds in the empire where the gad-flies of the north found a too easy trysting-place. Nor were they unprovoked. It has been too much the fashion to treat their attacks as mere acts of piracy. They may have so degenerated at a later day, but in their earlier ventures there can be no doubt that their motive was a political one, and that the unity of purpose which distinguished them was guided by a defensive rather than an offensive policy. That this was so will appear from the following narrative.

Among the most troublesome foes whom the Franks had had to fight were the Saxons, a race very near to them in origin, religion, and language, but divided from them impassably by their religion, and by a feud which had lasted for three hundred years, during which an almost continuous struggle was carried on against them, in which they were often the aggressors, and in which they seem to have considerably

widened their borders at the expense of the Franks; but this was now to cease. The Frank sceptre was in the grasp of one who would not permit such aggressions on the part of his neighbours. Karl the Great was king. For five years had he waged a savage war in Saxony, a war in which he championed the cause of Christianity, and his neighbours, so nearly related to our forefathers, the cause of Odin—a savage and cruel war in which, backed by vast resources, he had declared his intention either to convert or exterminate the Saxons. Twice, namely, in 772 and 773, had his armies traversed the Saxon land to and fro, had captured its stronghold, Ehresburg, destroyed its sacred groves and idol at Irmensul, and exacted a passing obedience. On each occasion when his back was turned, the undaunted Saxons attempted their revenge; twice reconquered their fortress of Ehresburg and massacred its Frankish garrison, while detachments of the imperial troops were elsewhere overwhelmed. In 777 the emperor once more crossed the Rhine with an immense army, determined to fulfil his main object—the conversion of the Saxons. The pomp of his surroundings and the strength of his forces seems to have temporarily overawed, if they did not overcome them. He marched through Westphalia, and held a general assembly at Paderborn at the sources of the Lippe, where he built a fortress not far from where Drusus had planted Aliso. This portion of Saxony, the nearest to the Frank frontier, was, says Zeller, the first to receive Christianity; and the country of Paderborn was the first portion of Saxony to be divided into parishes.* There, in the enemy's country, Karl held one of those stately assemblies, which, from their date of meeting, were styled *Mai Campi*, *Champs de Mai*, or *May Felds*. Surrounded by his bishops and counts, and by the rude chivalry of his court, he received the submission of the various Saxon chiefs and envoys from different countries, among whom Moors from Spain are especially mentioned. A vast crowd of Saxons were baptized, and, according to their custom, did homage to

* Zeller, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, 433.

the Frankish conqueror. One among the Saxon chiefs, the most redoubtable and dangerous of them all, was, however, not present. This was the Westphalian Witikind, whose fame, as has been said, would probably have rivalled that of Arminius had he had a Tacitus to recite it. He would not bend his neck, however others might; and we are told that with a few Saxons he fled, according to some authors, to the country of the Northmen, according to others, to "Sigfred, the king of the Danes." As this is the first mention of a Danish king by the historians of the Carolingian empire, we must analyse it carefully.

The chief authority for the history of this period is the series of annals kept at the Abbey of Lorsch, and known as the "*Annales Laurissenses*." These annals extend from the year 741 to the year 829. The section from 741 to 789 is written in a rugged style, and was probably continuously compiled by some tenant of the abbey. From 789 to the conclusion in 829 the style and hand are different and much improved, and from a comparison with the work about to be cited, Pertz has concluded that this later section was the work of Einhardt or Eginhardt, the nephew and biographer of Charlemagne.

Besides completing the Lorsch annals, Eginhardt himself wrote a similar work, also beginning in 741 and ending in 829, and written throughout in the same style. This was in effect a re-edition of the annals of Lorsch. The two may be compared side by side in Pertz's great work. This second series of annals is generally quoted as the "*Annales Einhardti*." These two are the only contemporary narratives we possess. The work of the so-called *Poeta Saxo* is at this period merely a translation of Einhardt's annals into verse. It was written in the reign of Arnulf, who died in 899.* The first section of the annals of Fulda, written by Enhardus, who seems to have been a different person from Einhardt, is compiled as far as 829 from the "*Annales Laurissenses*" and the "*Annales Einhardti*." Reginon, Abbot of Pruhm, who wrote a valuable chronicle extending from the Incarnation to the year 909,

* Pertz, i. 227.

tells us he compiled the portion relating to Charlemagne from a book in plebeian and rustic Latin, which he reduced to grammatical language. His words are: "Hæc quæ supra expressa sunt, in quodam libello reperi, plebeio et rusticano sermone composita quæ ex parte ad latinam regulam correxì, quædam etiam addidi quæ ex narratione seniorum audiui."* This, as Pertz thinks, was almost certainly a copy of the "Annales Laurissenses." We may therefore take it that the latter and Einhardt's annals are "*the fontes*" of all reliable information on this period. Now the "Annales Laurissenses" tell us only that Witikind fled *in partibus Nortmannorum*. Einhardt says he fled to Sigfred, the king of the Danes. These statements are not inconsistent, for the term Northmen is constantly applied to the Danes; and it is not improbable otherwise, that Sigfred was the name of the king with whom the Saxon patriot took refuge. It has been suggested that it was the fugitive from Westphalia who first aroused in the lands of the Baltic that jealous and bitter hatred of the Christians which bore such bitter fruit later on. That he was in fact the Peter the Hermit of a movement which a few years later led to the devastation of half the European sea-board; but this very much exaggerates his importance. At first, and for many years, the Norman attacks upon Christianity were directed, not against its Frankish supporters, but against the scattered followers of St Columba in the many islets of the British seas. Nor was the hatred such an unnatural one that it should need an instigator like Witikind. The Christianity that came with the Franks was suspected and despised, not so much from its religious as from its political aspects. It was because it was Erastian to the very core, and a mere handmaid of the state, that it met with so much opposition. The neophyte who donned the white robe in which he was baptized by the bishop was expected to complete his duty by doing homage to the Kaizer, and it might well be feared in the north that the ever hungry power which had invaded so many liberties

* Reginon, *ad ann.* 814; Kunik, *op. cit.*, 278.

and thrust its yoke upon so many neighbours, would shortly complete its work by a raid upon Scandinavia that lay so near. There, too, was the very cradle and home of the martial faith that formed the great trysting-tree to all the opponents of Christianity; and there was also the armoury whence had gone at least the leaders of the brave men who had shattered the old Roman empire, the step-mother of that which now paraded its barbaric pomp at Treves and Ingelheim and Aachen. It required continual watchfulness on the part of the emperor to preserve his unwieldy realm from the crowds of waspish foes that hung about its borders—Saracens, Avars, etc., etc. Thus the year after the council at Paderborn we find him in the far south, fighting against the Moors, and sustaining a disastrous defeat in the passes of the Pyrenees. This battle, which has become famous through the sagas of Roland, was that of Roncesvalles. News of defeat travels quickly, and it was probably news of this that tempted Witikind this very year to return once more to Westphalia to collect his clans, and to lay waste the country as far as Deutz, opposite Cologne on the Rhine, returning by the valley of the Lahn—*per Logenchi*—in Upper Hesse. He was followed by the imperial troops as far as the Eder, a tributary of the Weser, upon which Cassel is built. He was overtaken at Lihesi (probably represented by Budinfeld on the Weser),* and a fight took place in which the Franks were victorious. Many Saxons were killed, and the smoking churches of the Rhineland were in a measure revenged.† The following year, namely, in 779, the Saxons having been defeated at Bocholt on the Aa, their three divisions, namely, the Angrarians, Westphalians, and Eastphalians, submitted. In 780 Charles arrived in person, and made a progress through a large part of Saxony, whose inhabitants were now submissive enough. We are told that at Orheim (now Orum on the river Ocker, near Wolfenbüttel)‡ the inhabitants of the Bardengau

* Poeta Saxo, *ad ann.* 777; Kruse, 8, note 8; Spruner's Map, *loc. cit.*

† Annales Laurissenses, etc., *ad annum*; *vide* Kruse, 8; Keller *op. cit.*, 431.

‡ Kruse, 14, note 4.

(a large district of Luneburg), with many northern folk—*Nordliudi*—were baptized. These *Nordliudi* are clearly to be identified with the Transalbingian Saxons who lived in Holstein.* After this the emperor held a council at the place where the Ohre falls into the Elbe, where the affairs of the Saxons and the Slaves were settled, and then once more returned to the land of the Franks.† It was at this time, namely, about the year 780, that St Willehad was sent by Charlemagne to plant Christianity in Wigmodia, the district between the Elbe and Weser where Bremen stands. He was very successful, and in two years many of the inhabitants had been converted.‡ Thus was the faith carried to the very borders of the Danish land.

Two years later, namely, in 782, we again find Charles in the Saxon land. There he held his annual convention at the sources of the Lippe, and there assembled the Saxon chiefs, except Witikind and his companions. There, too, went envoys from the Danish king, probably to inquire what was the meaning of this ambiguous movement on his borders, and whether it meant the planting there of an advanced post of the empire, from which his land might be menaced.

On this occasion the name of the Danish king is given both in the Lorsch annals and by Einhardt, but unfortunately the various copies of the former are not quite consistent in their testimony. The older copies of the Lorsch annals agree with Einhardt in calling the Danish king Sigfred. In this they are followed by the Fulda annals, all except one copy. Two copies of the Lorsch annals, one of the Fulda annals, and the chronicle of Reginon, call him Godfred. So that there is a very material contradiction between them. Now it may be that Godfred and Sigfred are merely synonyms of the same person, the essential part of the name being the particle Fred or Frotho, a name which occurs so frequently in the old Danish regal lists, and that Sieg and God are merely qualify-

* Kruse, 15, 16, *notes* 32, 33.

† *Annales Laurissenses*, Pertz, i. 160; Eginhardt, *ib.*, 161; Reginon, *ib.*, 559, etc.

‡ Anskar's Life of St Willehad, Pertz, ii. 382; Kruse, 20.

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ing particles; but this view seems improbable, and shortly after this date we find Sigfred and Godfred constantly used as essentially different names. Putting this view aside, we are, I think, bound by the weight of testimony, that of the oldest copies of the Lorsch annals, and of the biographer of Charlemagne, who was a contemporary, and was hardly likely to have mistaken the name of the Danish king, and both say Sigfred. As Pertz, Kruse, Kunik, and other inquirers, have argued, it is very likely that Reginon copied from a corrupt copy of the Lorsch annals, and, anyhow, his testimony is that of one who lived a century after the events. The single copy of the Fulda annals, and the two late ones of the Lorsch annals, cannot be held to weigh against the testimony just adduced; and in all three cases it is probable that the more familiar Godfred, who is mentioned a few years later, has been substituted for the unfamiliar Sigfred, and that Godfred is here used by anticipation. I conclude, therefore, that Sigfred is the proper form of the name. Let us now revert to Witikind. In the "Chronicle of Brunswick," written by Botho, a late work written in old Saxon, and preserving some old traditions, we are told that Witikind married the sister of Sigfred, king of Denmark, who was called Geva, and by her had a son named Wipert, and a daughter, Hasala. Hasala married Berno, whose father was one of twelve ethelings of the old Saxons, and had been the companion of Witikind's flight when he fled from Charlemagne to Denmark.* A dux Bruno of the Angrarian Saxons is mentioned in 775, by Reginon. Botho's chronicle comes down to 1489, and was printed at Mayence in 1492.† It was deemed by its editor, Leibnitz, to be founded on old authorities.‡ The fact of Witikind having married Geva is mentioned in an anonymous rhythmical chronicle of Brunswick, written, according to Leibnitz, in the reign of Albert I., Duke of Brunswick, who died in 1279.§ while Witikind's son, Wipert, is named by other authors;|| but the relationship of Geva to the Danish king is

* *Op. cit.*, Kruse, 4, 5.

† Kunik, *op. cit.*, i. 279.

‡ Kruse, 7, 8.

§ Kunik, 280, *note, ib.*, 6.

|| Kruse, 7.

not traceable to any older authority than Botho, and may have been a conjecture merely of his. Geva is not, so far as I know, a Norse name, while it does occur as a woman's name in Low Saxon in the year 817.* Gevarus, however, occurs as a man's name in Saxo Grammaticus.

Let us now revert to the convention of 782. We are told that the meeting was also attended by the envoys of the khakan of the Avars,† and doubtless by strangers from many climates, having a common bond of jealousy of the Franks and their aggressive policy.

After holding his placitum, the emperor returned westwards again, but was sharply recalled by another outbreak of the Saxons, who were again incited by Witikind. Once more there was a massacre of missionaries, and a retreat of the small Frankish contingents towards the Rhine. The emperor, who was ignorant of this invasion, had sent three of his officers—namely, Adalgisus, the chamberlain; Gailo, the master of the horse; and Woradus, the count of the palace—at the head of the Frank and the Saxon troops against some rebellious Slaves. Having heard on their march of the Saxon revolt, these leaders marched against *them*, and there was a sharp struggle in the tortuous country about Sündel, on the north bank of the Weser, between Minder and Rinteln. The site of the battle is still known as Dachtel Feld, or field of slaughter.‡ Although the Franks were victorious, it was at the cost of the lives of two of their leaders, namely, Adalgisus and Gailo.§

The persistent treachery of the Saxons, who had so often sworn to be faithful, was naturally very galling to the emperor. He once more entered their land, traversed the battle-field, and arrived at Verden, near the confluence of the Weser and the Aller. There he summoned the Saxon chiefs to meet him. They were once more subservient. They accused Witikind of being the instigator of the outbreak, and surrendered 4500 of their companions, who had been the most active in it.

* Erhard's *Res Gesta*, i. 105; Kunik, 286, *note*.

† *Ann. Lauriss.*, Pertz, i. 162-164; Kruse, 16.

‡ Kruse, 17, *note*.

§ *Ann. Lauriss.*, Pertz, i. 162-164; Kruse, 16, 17.

These were decapitated. Zeller moralises much on the massacre, as though it gave point to his persistent tirade against the barbarous policy of the Germans and their hero, Karl the Great; but it seems hard to say what is to be done when a province is conquered and submits, and not once, but several times breaks out into rebellion and submits again, but at last to put away the main cause, the leaders of disaffection. The massacre of missionaries and the small Frank border garrisons was not to be tolerated, and is difficult of defence even to those who are careless of discipline, and whose fanatic sympathy is always on the side of what they choose to call "the impatience" of a free people to a conqueror's yoke. This may be very well in its way, but it is equally clear that, granting the right of conquest at all, it is the paramount duty of the conqueror to suppress at all cost the disturbers of the peace, and that, although cynical, it is true to say that rebellion only justifies itself by success, and pays a just penalty when its failure is followed up by the execution of the rebels.

Witiking, the instigator of the Saxon revolt, had pressed his heel heavily on the neighbouring districts of Friesland, where the missionary Liudger had been faithfully working for six years. He burnt the churches, and expelled the priests, and compelled the Friesians, as far as Lake Flevo (the nucleus of the Zuyder Zee), to revert to their old faith, while Liudger himself was forced to retire.* Willehad fled from Wigmodia to Utriustria, and thence, coasting round the Friesic shores, escaped by sea. Folcard, the priest, with the Count Emmig, was slain near Delmenhorst; Benjamin in Upper Riustria; the priest Atrebanus in Ditmarsh; and Gerwal, with his companions, at Bremen.† Thus was the young church in Friesland, which had been carefully tended by Charlemagne, uprooted and destroyed; and we cannot wonder at the sharp and severe revenge he took. But while the subordinates suffered, the mainspring and wire-puller of the movement escaped, and we are told that Witiking once more fled to,

* Life of St Liudger, Pertz, ii. 410; Kruse, 19.

† Anskar, Life of St Willehad, Pertz, ii. 382; Kruse, 20.

and found safety among, the Northmen.* The indefatigable emperor, whose life was such a hurrying to and fro about his dominions, to beat down the hungry bands of plunderers who girdled it about, determined on this occasion to stamp his heel firmly on the Saxon neck. He sent for his wives and children, and made his home for a while in the enemy's country. The pagan sanctuary of Detmold in Engria was captured after a brave resistance, while from Paderborn in Westphalia, and Werden in Eastphalia, columns set out and harried the Saxon settlements from the Ems to the Elbe, traversing the frozen marshes and rivers and leafless forests, and burning the rebel villages. A plot which was formed to assassinate him was discovered, and its chief authors were deprived of their sight. At length, in 785, after nearly three years of persistent ravage, the Saxons were crushed, and the emperor sent certain Saxon nobles to Witikind, who had probably pulled the wires in the various outbreaks, to beg him to submit, "for his gods Thor and Woden were seemingly of no help to him." He consented, and we may well believe that it was a hard day for the proud pagan, who had been the rallying-point of the impatient Saxons, when he attended at Attigny, with his friend Alboin, perhaps his son-in-law's father, and was baptized in the palace there; nor could all the imperial presents that he received have reconciled him completely to his new fetters. What a victory it was thought elsewhere may be judged of from the fact that his baptism was ordered by Pope Adrian to be celebrated by three days of solemn processions throughout the Christian world, while a letter was sent with the news by Charlemagne to his great contemporary, Offa of Mercia.† In this letter he is curiously called Withmund, which was possibly his real name. An early poet, who wrote in Low Saxon, says he was called Nickheim before his conversion, and was named Wittekind, *i.e.*, white boy, from the white robe he wore at his baptism.‡

While the emperor was crushing out paganism and inde-

* *Annales Laurissenses*, Pertz, i. 162-164; Kruse, 17.

† Kruse, 22, 23; Zeller, 439, 440.

‡ Kruse, 5.

pendence with the sword in Saxony, a fresh venture in a more peaceable fashion was made upon Friesland, where Liudger was sent, and, in the quaint words of his Life, he was made "doctor of the Friesians east of the river Laubeck, and set over the five districts of Hunesga, near Groningen; Fivilga and Hugmark, both near Groningen; Emisga, at the mouth of the Ems; and Federgewe, north of Emisga; together with the island of Bant."* He also, with the consent of the emperor, crossed over to the island of Heligoland, then called Foseteland, from the old god Fosete, whence its name of Heligoland or holy island. There he destroyed the shrine of Fosete, and planted Christian churches. He baptized the people in a spring where St Willibrord had previously baptized three men. Among the converts was Landric, the son of their prince, who became a priest, and worked for many years among the Friesians.† In 786, a fitting crown was given to the work by the foundation of the bishopric of Bremen, which became so influential in the subsequent evangelising of Scandinavia, and of which Willehad was the first bishop. His authority extended, we are told, over the districts of Rustringen, being the greater part of the duchy of Oldenburg; Asterga; Lorgo; Nordendi in Friesland; Wanga, of which but a fragment remains in the isle of Wangeroog; and Wigmodia; the last of these is the district about the present city of Bremen, and was named from the river Wimme.‡ He died in 790, and was succeeded by Liudger, the evangelist of Friesland. For some years there was now peace in Saxony, but at length another opportunity arose. The emperor had a struggle in Pannonia with the terrible Avars, a struggle in which he effectually broke their power, but meanwhile his hands were full; and in 792 we find the Saxons once more rebelling and killing the Franks near the Elbe.§ Two years later they were again constrained to submit, and to give hostages for their good

* Pertz, ii. 420.

† Life of St Liudger, Pertz, ii. 410.

‡ Vita Willehadi, Pertz, ii. 383, and Chron. Moiss., Pertz, ii. 257; Kruse, 23, 24.

§ Kruse, 27.

behaviour ;* but these good days were only transient. If the Saxons were inclined to be quiet, they had neighbours on the east and north who were so unsettled that causes of offence were constantly arising. The fierce priesthood which Charlemagne did so much to stamp out had an always open sanctuary and a sympathetic welcome among the Danes, who had already begun to test their weapons upon the disintegrated states of England and Ireland, preparatory to the long revenge they exacted from the Franks in later times. In the east were the rival Slavic tribes of the Wiltzi and the Obotriti. The latter were in alliance with the Franks, and apparently at deadly feud with the Saxons. In 795 their king, on his way to visit the emperor, was murdered near the Elbe by the Saxons. The latter were again punished, and a third part of their leaders were transported to Haspengau, Belgia, and Bamberg.† Hostages were taken from the rest, while a new bishopric was founded at Verden.‡ The next year brought its seasonable campaign in the Saxon country, after which the emperor returned to Aachen.§

In 797 there was another Saxon war, and the fortresses of Wigmodia and the maritime district between the Elbe and the Weser, called Hadeln, were ravaged. One authority makes out that the Franks employed a fleet on this occasion, and for the first time punished the Saxons beyond the Elbe.|| The emperor having once more returned to Aachen, a general assembly of prelates and notables, including Saxons, was held ; and a Saxon capitulary was issued.¶

In 798 the Saxons beyond the Elbe killed certain Frankish envoys who had been to obtain redress for some recent grievances. About the same time Godescalcus, who had been sent as an envoy by the emperor to the Danish king, happened to be returning through their country, and was also put to death. Einhardt, as before, calls the Danish king Sigfred ; and this is the last time he mentions him. When a Danish king is next named, it is Godfred, and not Sigfred.

Charlemagne collected an army at Minden, on the Weser,

* Kruse, 29. † *Ib.*, 29, 30. ‡ *Ib.* § *Ib.*, 30. || *Ib.*, 31. ¶ *Ib.*, 31.

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and proceeded to ravage the country of the Saxons between the Elbe and Weser. Their brothers beyond the Elbe, who had murdered the envoys, being elated by their success, took up arms and marched against the Obotriti, who were close allies of the Franks. Thrasco, the Duke of the Obotriti, having heard of their march, collected his forces, met the Saxons at Swante in Mecklenburg, and killed a great many of them—Einhardt, on the authority of Eburis, the emperor's envoy, who was in the battle, says 4000; the "*Annales Laureshammenses*," 2901.* The next year the emperor resided for a while at Paderborn, sent his son Charles with an army to the borders of the Elbe, to settle the affairs of the Obotriti, Wiltzi, and Trans-Elbian Saxons. He also transplanted many of the Saxons, and granted their lands and fiefs to his followers.

In 800 we are told that the emperor left Aachen in March, and made a journey along the maritime district of Gaul, which was *infested by the Norman pirates*, and he ordered a fleet to be built. He then returned to his favourite home at Aachen by way of Rouen and Paris.† He spent the summer of 802 in hunting in the Ardennes, and sent an army to ravage the land of the Transalbingian Saxons.‡ In 804 he again entered their country and transplanted them into various parts of the empire. He gave their lands to the Obotriti.§ The "*Chron. Moiss.*" says that he also transplanted the inhabitants of the three gaus of Wigmodia, Hostingau, and Rosogau;|| but Kruse has, I think, shown that it is very improbable, that such a transplanting on any large scale should have taken place at this time from districts forming the diocese of Bremen. And I believe that the country stripped of inhabitants was chiefly the district of Wagria, which thenceforward became a Slavic land. This invasion of

* Kruse, 32, 33.

† *Annales Laurissenses*, Pertz, i. 186; Einhardt, Pertz, i. 187; Kruse, 36.

‡ Einhardt, Pertz, i. 190.

§ Ann. St Amandi, Pertz, i. 14; Ann. Xantenses, *ib.*, ii. 224; Einhardt, *ib.*, i. 191, 192; Reginon, *ib.*, i. 563; Kruse, 37, 38.

|| *Vide* Pertz, i. 307, ii. 258.

the marches of Jutland and the substitution of their enemies, the Obotriti, for their clients, the Saxons, was another menace to the Danes, and we are not surprised to read that it brought the latter to their frontiers.

Matters were indeed very threatening for the Danes. Charlemagne was not in the habit of brooking much opposition, and he had trampled too successfully over the Avares, Saracens, and Saxons to have much fear for the Norsemen. The Saxons had now been finally pacified and incorporated with the empire. It was at a placitum held at Sallburg, near Königshofen, in 803, that they undertook to adopt Christianity, to pay tribute to the Church, and to obey the counts and *missi dominici*; on the other hand, they were granted the use of their own laws.* This pacification extended apparently to all the hither Saxons, or Saxons south of the Elbe, and no doubt strengthened the empire immensely. When it was followed by the transport of the Saxons beyond the Elbe into the interior of the Frank land, and the movement of the Obotriti into their old land, it might well seem that the next step in the encroaching policy of the great emperor would be across the Eider; and we are told that *Godfred*, the Danish king—he is so called both by Einhardt and Reginon—went with his fleet and all the army of his kingdom to Sliesthorp (*i.e.*, the far-famed mart of Schleswig on the Schlie), on the borders of his kingdom and of Saxony. According to Einhardt, he promised to attend the imperial diet, but was restrained by the counsel of his own people, a phrase which sounds like a diplomatic cover for some act of independence on the part of the Danish king.

The emperor, who was at Hollenstedt, near Harburg, on the Elbe, sent envoys to Godfred to treat for the return of fugitives (probably of Witikind and his people), and returned in the autumn to Cologne.† It was at this time that the city of Hamburg was probably first founded. We are told that

* Poeta Saxo, Pertz, i. 260; Eginhard, Pertz, i. 417; Annales Quedlinburgensis, i. 40; Annalista Saxo, i. 561; Kruse, 37.

† Einhardt, Pertz, i. 191, 192; Reginon, *ib.*, 563; Annalista Saxo, *ib.*, viii. 565; Kruse, 38, 42.

Charlemagne built a church there, intending to give charge of the district with episcopal jurisdiction to a certain holy man, called Heridag, but the death of Heridag and the many occupations of the emperor prevented the plan from being carried out, nor was it till a later day that Hamburg became the great evangelising centre of the north.*

In the year 807 we read in the narrative of the anonymous Saxon poet, who for the most part follows Einhardt, but who here has recorded a very interesting fact independently, that Halfdene, the Norman leader, and with him a considerable army, made submission to the emperor, and endeavoured to enter into a perpetual pact with him.† This Halfdene I shall have more to speak about in another paper. Meanwhile Godfred prepared to attack the hated Slaves who had been introduced into what he deemed his borders without his permission. And we are told that in 808, while the emperor was at Aachen, he and his Danes marched against the Obotriti. Charlemagne sent his son Charles to the Elbe with an army of Franks and Saxons, with orders to resist him if he attempted to cross the Saxon frontier. Godfred ravaged the borders of the Slaves, captured some of their fortresses, drove away Thrasco, one of their chiefs, and hanged Godelaib, another. He made the two sections of the Obotriti tributary. He also destroyed their emporium on the coast, called in the Danish tongue Reric. This, as we are told by Adam of Bremen, was the site of old Mecklenburg, near Wismar, whose inhabitants were afterwards known as Reregi: "Deinde secuntur Obotriti, qui nunc Reregi vocantur, et civitas eorum Mag-nopolis."‡ Godfred carried off its merchants, and imposed a heavy tribute on the Obotriti.§ I have small doubt that this expedition has been confused by the author of the saga of Olaf Trygvason copying Saxo, and by the "Islandic Annals," with the campaign against the Friesians in 810, and that they have

* Adam of Bremen, i. 15; Annalista Saxo, Pertz, viii. 565; Helmold, Kruse, 42.

† *Op. cit.*, Pertz, i. 263; Kruse, 45.

‡ Adam of Bremen, Pertz, ix. 311.

§ Einhardt in Pertz, i. 195; Kruse, 46.

converted the emporium Reric into a Hrærek or Rurik, prince of Friesland, who is quite unknown to the contemporary Frank annalists. This campaign cost Godfred some of his best men, and among them, according to Einhardt, was Reginald, his brother's son, who was killed with many Danes in attacking a town. The "*Chronicon Moiss.*" calls him Godfred's nephew, and the first in the kingdom after himself.* To oppose the attacks of Godfred, Charlemagne's son, Charles, crossed the Elbe into Lauenburg, marched in the direction of the modern Lubeck, and having devastated the lands of the Linones and Smeldingi, Slavic tribes which had gone over to Godfred, he once more recrossed the Elbe, and, according to one ingenuous writer, his expedition was by no means altogether a success, for he lost most of his men.† Godfred had been assisted in his campaign by the Wiltzi, the eastern neighbours of the Smeldingi and Linones, who were ancient foes of the Obotriti. They returned home with a considerable booty. Godfred himself, after his campaign, sent his fleet round to Schleswig and marched his army there, and proceeded to build a mound along the northern shores of the Eider, from one sea to the other. This was pierced by a single gateway for the passage of men and merchandise. After dividing the work among his chiefs he returned home.‡ This mound was probably not the celebrated Dannewirke. That, as Worsaae has argued, having been traditionally connected with another Danish king, namely, Gorm the Old, but rather an older and ruder mound which runs along the Eider. Having heard that the emperor was displeased at his campaign against the Obotriti in the previous year, Godfred, in 809, sent him envoys asking him to fix a convention beyond the Elbe, where explanations might be given. Such a convention was held at Badensflot (probably the village now called Beydenfleth, on the banks of the Stur).§ This convention was apparently not very effective in humbling the Danes, but, on the contrary, we find directly

* Einhardt, Pertz, i. 195; Chron. Moiss., Pertz, ii. 258; Kruse, 46, 48.

† Lesser Annals of Lorsch, Pertz, i. 263; Kruse, 49, 50.

‡ Kruse, 47.

§ Kruse, 50, *note*.

after, Thrasco, the Duke of the Obotriti, and the *protégé* of the Franks, surrendering his daughter as a hostage to Godfred. This was probably to secure his neutrality in the war which he was then urging against the old enemies of his people, the Wiltzi, and from which he returned with a great booty. He afterwards, with the assistance of the Saxons, captured the chief town of the Smeldingi (*i.e.*, Möllen).

When the emperor heard of the arrogant behaviour of the Danish king, he determined to build a fortress beyond the Elbe, and having collected a number of artificers in Gaul and Germany, he sent them under command of the Saxon Count Egbert across the Elbe. Esesfelt was fixed upon as its site.* We are told it was occupied by Egbert on the Ides of March.

Meanwhile Thrasco, the chief of the Obotriti, was treacherously killed by an emissary of Godfred's at Reric.† He was probably considered a too faithful friend of the Franks to be well disposed to the Danes. These acts on either side were hardly a gauge of peace; and we accordingly read how Godfred, at the head of 200 ships, fell upon Friesland, devastated its coasts and islands, and fought three battles with the Friesians, whom he made tributary, exacting a sum of 100 pounds of silver from them, after which he returned home.‡ A curious fact is cited by Depping to show to what straits the Friesians were at this time reduced. He quotes an old law by which a captive Friesian, who, in the service of the Northmen, should attack a village, violate women, kill men, or burn houses, was not to be punished if he returned home; it being held that he was not a free agent, but only doing the bidding of his exacting masters. Another law authorised mothers to dispose of the property of such of their children as were carried off, showing how hopeless their return generally was.

* This has been identified by several inquirers with Itzehoe on the Stur. Man-
nert (Gesch. der alt. Deuts., i. 486), would place it on the site of Gluckstadt at the
mouth of that river.

† Einhardt, i. 196, 197; Kruse, 51.

‡ Einhardt, Pertz, i. 197, 198; Fulda Annals, *ib.*, i. 354, 355; Kruse, 53, etc.

While the Danes were ravaging Friesland, their allies, the Wiltzi, captured the fortress of Hohbuoki on the Elbe, which was governed by the imperial legate Odo, and which some identify with the town of Boitzenburg, others with Büchen in the duchy of Lauenburg.* It is strange to read the notice of the muster of the Frankish forces to meet these attacks, and their march across the Rhine, mentioned in the same paragraph with the death of an elephant, which had been sent as a present to Charlemagne by Aaron, the king of the Saracens, *i.e.*, by Harun ar Rashid. The Franks marched towards the Alar, and at its confluence with the Weser they awaited the attack of the Danes, who had apparently boasted loudly of their intentions after the Friesic war. The Danes, however, came not, but news arrived that Godfred had been assassinated.† The "Chronicle of St Gallen" says the deed was done by one of his sons in revenge for his having deserted his mother in favour of another wife.‡ The deed was perhaps also incited by some weak-kneed Danes, who feared the consequences of bearding the great Frank empire. We at all events find that the throne was immediately occupied by one who courted the friendship of the Franks, while the sons of Godfred escaped beyond the water—escaping apparently much more from fear of their own people than from any dread of the emperor's vengeance.

Before we proceed with our story it will be convenient to try and discover who the Godfred was of whom we have spoken so frequently. The Frank chronicles do not enable us to answer the question. They give us no information about it. On turning to Saxo Grammaticus we find him making Godfred, or Gotric, as he calls him, the son of Gormo, and he the son of Harald. I have already in the *Athenæum* discussed the question of this Gormo, and the anachronisms with which his history, as told by Saxo, is filled, and which make it exceedingly probable that he is to be identified with Gorm the Old, who lived at a much later day. Two of the

* Kruse, 53.

† Einhardt, Pertz, i. 197, 198, etc.; Kruse, 53-61.

‡ Pertz, ii. 757; Kruse, 56.

most striking of these anachronisms are, that he makes him have intercourse with the people of Thule, which is his name for Iceland, while Iceland was not colonised until the second half of the next century. He also makes him be converted to Christianity in Germany, and introduce Christianity into Denmark.*

We know from Frankish authors that before 798, when Godfred was King of Denmark, Christianity had not passed the Elbe, and south of that river it was a mere sickly plant, except in the neighbourhood of Paderborn. It was long after this, and after the death of Godfred and his successor, that Harald Klak was baptized at Mayence. This was in 826. He was the first royal Dane apparently to be converted, but at this time he was an exile seeking the favour of his imperial host and no king of Denmark. We know also that Eric was a pagan, and that when Anskarius, the apostle of Sweden, was on his journey, Christianity was not practised in Denmark, and the fierce northern pirates were still unreclaimed from their old worship. We know in fact that the first of the Danish kings to adopt Christianity was *a* Gorm, and that he married Thyra, the daughter of that Harald Klak who was baptized at Mayence. But this Gorm did not live before the days of Godfred, but was the Gorm, father of Harald Blaatand, who reigned in the latter half of the ninth century, and the beginning of the tenth, and was in fact the Gorm the Old of the Danish chronicles numbered 58 in Saxo's list of kings. These anachronisms make it exceedingly probable that Saxo has made two kings out of one Gorm, and that we ought to erase the name Gorm which stands 46 in that list as identical with the Gorm numbered 58. This does not involve the erasing of the incidents of his reign mentioned by Saxo. These are probably authentic, only that they have been transferred to a phantom king of the same name, whereas in fact they are incidents in the long reign of Gorm the Old.

If we examine Saxo's narrative closely, we shall be disposed to make him an honest person who attempted to weave a

* Saxo, ed. Muller, 165.

continuous history out of a number of disjointed and dis-integrated sagas, doing what his rival Snorro, the son of Sturle, did in the "*Heimskringla*," and what was alone possible in those days. Most of these sagas were detached and isolated epics commemorating some heroic exploit, and often containing but few facts useful to the genealogist of the northern races. Having arranged these isolated stories in what he deemed a continuous series, our author appears to have pieced them together by the insertion of one or two names, thus making the story run without any breaks. If Saxo had been a very critical person it would not have been perhaps easy to discover any of these joints in the narrative; but he not only lived in uncritical times, but was apparently the most uncritical of all historians.

On turning to the series of kings immediately preceding the name of the Gormo we have just described, whom Saxo makes the father of Godfred, we have a notable instance of this failing, and one of the most extraordinary anachronisms imaginable. We find a series of names and events which take us back to the sixth and earlier centuries—Jarmeric and Bicco, heroes of the "*Volsunga Saga*," Aggo and Ebbo, the heroes of the Lombards; and, as if to make matters more certain, Paul Warnifred, the historian of the Lombards, is quoted for details of the history of the latter two chiefs. These names and many others occur between those of Harald Hildetaand and his nephew, Sigurd Ring, and Godfred, the subject of our story—throwing the former back, therefore, to the early centuries after Christ; and, as if to intensify the confusion, Sigurd Ring occurs again a long time after as the successor of Hemming, whom we shall refer to presently. So that the same individual is made to live at two epochs seven or eight centuries apart.

I am not now going to reconcile the contradiction, but merely to state that it is a very marked instance of Saxo's method. The fact is, that a large portion of the narrative intervening between Harald Hildetaand is a separate and substantive saga, which has been thrust into the midst of a

story, and, like a primeval boulder in a garden, is a stranger there, and may with care be detached. This foreign and intrusive narrative has been pieced on by Saxo to his account of Godfred by the insertion of the names of Gormo and his father and grandfather. They are, it seems to me beyond question, inserted to fill up the gap, and to hide the junction of the two narratives; and we may take it that Saxo, who found Godfred named in the Frankish chronicles, and also in the traditions of the country, and could find no mention of his father, boldly made another Gorm for the purpose, and inserted him in *loco parentis*.

The fact that Godfred should occur in the old traditions in this isolated fashion points in a measure to his not belonging to the old line of Danish kings, but to his being an intruder, and this is largely supported when we find his son Eric, who afterwards became king, qualified as Eric the Usurper. If he were not a Scioldung, who could he be? Among a proud and exceedingly feudal race like the Norsemen there was no room for upstarts and *parvenus* to become kings, for the kings were not only the temporal sovereigns of the country, but also its high priests. Putting aside the Scioldungs, the only royal race we know at this time in the north was that of the Inglings, the old royal lineage of Norway, and we naturally turn to that.

Besides several incidents in the life of Godfred which Saxo has taken from the Frankish chronicles, and which we have already considered, he has a story which throws considerable light on his origin. He tells us he was famous, not only for his prowess, but also for his liberality, and he was no less clement than strong. At this time he says Goto (*i.e.*, Gautr), the King of Norway, was visited by Bero (*i.e.*, Biorn) and Refo (*i.e.*, Refr, meaning a fox) from Thule, and presented the latter with a bracelet of great weight. The bystanders thereupon declared that Goto's generosity was unsurpassed. Refo, however, who, notwithstanding the present, was disposed to be candid, declared that Gotric (*i.e.*, our Godfred) excelled him in this quality. Ulvus (*i.e.*, Ulf), who was nettled at this, thereupon proposed a wager to Refo to go and test the Danish king.

Refo accordingly set out, and found Godfred seated on his throne dividing pay or booty among his soldiers. On being asked what his name was, he answered that he was a little fox (*i.e.*, Refr). This aroused the laughter of some and the admiration of others. "A fox," said Godfred, "ought to take its prey in its mouth," and thereupon detaching a bracelet, he inserted it in Refo's proffered lips. The latter, placing it on his arm, showed it to all, ornamented with gold. Meanwhile, the other bracelet, which was devoid of ornament, he had kept concealed, so that it might not tempt Godfred into a rival act of generosity, but that what he did should be spontaneous. He was delighted, not so much at the value of the gift as at having won his wager. When the king heard of the wager and of the accident, rather than design, by which it was won, he was more delighted even than Refo himself. The latter returned to Norway to claim the wager, which, being refused, he killed his opponent (Saxo, no doubt, means the king), and carried off the King of Norway's daughter as a prize to Godfred. This story coincides admirably with the character of the Ingling chieftain Gotric, who, as it would seem from a comparison of the genealogies, must have lived at this time, and who is called Gotric hin Gafoglati (*i.e.*, Gudrod the Magnanimous), and also Gudrod the Hunter by Snorro. He tells us he was married to Alfhild, a daughter of King Alfarin of Alfheim, and got with her half the district of Vingulmark. By her he had a son named Olaf, who was called Geirstad-Alf. When Alfhild died, King Gudrod *sent his men* west to Agder, to the king who ruled there, and who was called Harald Redbeard. They were to make proposals to his daughter Asa, upon the king's account, but Harald declined the match, and the ambassadors returned to the king, and told him the result of their errand. Soon after, King Gudrod hove down his ships into the water, and proceeded with a great force in them to Agder. He immediately landed, and came, altogether unexpectedly, at night to King Harald's house. When Harald was aware that an army was at hand, he went out with his men, and there was a great battle. King Harald and his son

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Gyrder fell, and King Gudrod took a great booty. He also married Asa, by whom he had a son named Halfdan. When Halfdan was one year old, and Olaf twenty, Gudrod went on a round of feasts. He lay with his ship in Stiflesund, and, having drunk hard, got very tipsy. The ships were connected to the shore by gangways, and when it was dark, as he went ashore, and had got to the end of the gangway, a man ran a spear into him and killed him. The man was instantly put to death; and in the morning when it was light, the man was discovered to be Asa's foot-boy. Nor did she conceal that it was done by her orders. Thus tells Thiodolf of it:

" Gudrod is gone to his long rest;
Despite of all his haughty pride,
A traitor's spear has pierced his breast.
Revenge! and, as by wine opprest,
The hero staggered from his ship,
The cruel queen her thrall let slip
To do the deed of which I sing.
And now, the far descended king
At Stiflesund, on the old bed
Of the old Gudrod race, lies dead."

—*Heimskringla*, 259, 260.

This account and that of Saxo seem to refer to the same person, and so Kruse apparently concluded. The term "magnificent" describes well the person whose munificent liberality was put to the test by Refo. Saxo's making him and his companions Thylenses, or men of Iceland, is, of course, an anachronism, but, in Saxo's day, Iceland was the home of nearly all the sagas, and was the stock quarter to which *adventurers* were attributed. The confident appeal of Refo to Gudrod's superior generosity shows that he was well known to him, and this view is supported, when we find that he was employed by Gudrod in his intercourse with Sweden, to which I shall refer presently. It is most probable, in fact, that both Refo and Bero were envoys, sent to demand the daughter of the Norwegian king. Both accounts agree that Gudrod married the daughter, and that her father was killed. It is hardly likely that Refo would kill him merely because he

had won his wager ; and this part of the story, which is very confused, seems to be another tradition of the events mentioned by Snorro. Saxo calls the Norwegian king Goto (*i.e.*, Gautr or Gudrod), while Snorro gives the name of Gyrdyr to the son of the Norwegian king, who was killed with his father. The two names are, in fact, identical. The identification of Saxo's Gotric with Gudrod, is confirmed by two other circumstances to which attention has, apparently, not been directed. Saxo and most of the Danish genealogists make Gotric be succeeded by his son Olaf. Olaf is quite unknown to the contemporary Frankish annalists, who give us abundant notices of Danish affairs at this time, and who make Godfred be immediately succeeded by his brother's son, Hemming. On turning to Snorro and the Norwegian genealogists, we find that they make Gudrod be, in fact, succeeded by his son Olaf, who is called Olaf Geirstada Alf. This is a very remarkable coincidence. Again, Westfold was at this time the kernel of the Norwegian dominion. The Norwegian kings at this date are merely called Kings of Westfold by Snorro. On turning to Einhardt, under the year 813 we find it reported that the two chiefs who had conquered Jutland from Godfred's nephew, make an excursion into Westarfold (*i.e.*, Westfold) in Norway. This probably means that they were claiming the remaining portion of Godfred's dominions. Lastly, the story told by the Frankish chroniclers, that Godfred came to his end by violence, and at the hands of one of his retainers, agrees with the more detailed story told by Snorro, about the way in which Gudrod was put away.

All these facts and coincidences, and they are strangely numerous, justify us in identifying the Godfred of the Frankish chronicles with the Gudrod of the Norwegians. I hold that, having succeeded to the crown of Westfold, and acquired a wide reputation, he made a descent upon Jutland, whose sovereign he displaced, and appropriated his dominions. I shall have more to say about that sovereign in the next paper. It would seem, from Saxo's narrative, that he also

acquired considerable influence in Sweden, where he sent the crafty Refo as his envoy, probably rather as his tax-collector. The Swedes were afraid to attack him openly, and attacked him by treachery when he was asleep.

In punishment of this act of treachery, it was decided that each of the authors of the crime should pay two golden talents, while each of the common folk should pay an ounce of gold. This tribute was named the Fox's pension, in reference to the name of Refr.

The death of Godfred forms a fitting term to the present paper. With him we get on tolerably safe ground, and the previous pages have been devoted to clearing up the difficulty which surrounds that border country in the history of Denmark, where history begins, and where we gradually emerge from mere tradition into the full light of history; and the author hopes that his criticism of the border country has made considerably clearer the drift of the story.

There is a curious, romantic character which occurs at this period in some of the chronicles, to whom a word or two may be devoted. This is Olger the Dane, one of Charlemagne's paladins, and the hero of some of the epics known as the Charlemagne romances. That such a person existed, there is no reason to doubt, though it is now impossible to assign him a distinct position in the history of the time. He is described in the romances as a most Christian prince—*princeps Christianissimus*. According to the Monk of St Gallen, after the death of Pepin, and when the Lombards once more threatened Rome (*i.e.*, about 768), Olger, who had incurred the emperor's wrath, fled to Desiderius (*i.e.*, to the Lombard king).*

Hearing, however, of the approach of Karl, they climbed a tower, whence they could see a long way, and, seeing the baggage, Desiderius said to Olger, "Is not this Karl's army?" to which the fearful Olger, who was well acquainted with the emperor's surroundings, and who, in happier days, had been his intimate, replied, "When you see the fields bristle with

* Kruse, 9.

iron, and the Po and the Ticino inundating the city with waves black as iron, then may you expect his arrival." Then did Karl himself come in view, with his iron helm, with his iron spear, etc. The true prophet Olger then said to Desiderius, "Behold! you have as much as you desired," and, thus speaking, he fell almost senseless. We next read, that, on the death of Karloman, Karl the Great's brother, in 771, his widow fled with her two sons and with Olger the Marquis to her father Desiderius.* It would seem that he had formerly been a friend of the Emperor Karl; and, having become a partisan of Karloman, according to the Monk of St Gallen, who does not mention Karloman or his widow, Olger fled to Desiderius because he had incurred the emperor's wrath. The next statement is in the "Chronicon Moissiacensis" under the year 773, where we read that the emperor, having determined to hold his "Mayfield" at Genoa, divided his army into two sections, with one of which he crossed Mont Cenis; and, having set his uncle Bernard and his other faithful friends over the other, they crossed over St Bernard (*per Foris montem*). But King Desiderius, having ordered the defiles to be fortified, Karl sent his picked soldiers up the mountain side, and they drove the Lombards with their King Desiderius and also Olger from their posts. After this we are told that Karl besieged Pavia for ten months, and, having captured it in June of 774, he returned to "Francia" and carried off with him Desiderius the king, and Olger and his wife and daughter.† Olger now seems to have regained the good opinion of Karl, for we are told that, by order of that emperor, he, in 778, restored the church of St Martin at Cologne, which had been destroyed by the Saxons.‡ This is the last mention I can find of him.

* Annales Lobiensibus, 711; Kruse, 9.

† Kruse, 10.

‡ Chron. St. Mart. Coloniensis, Pertz, ii. 214; Kruse, 9.

LANCASHIRE IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A.,

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IT would be an easy task, and perhaps a not uninteresting one, to draw a picture of what Lancashire may be supposed to have been during the reign of Queen Elizabeth—its large forests, its trackless mosses, its many-gabled, moated, timber halls, and its old grey churches, would all form an admirable background to a stage upon which the persecuted Catholic gentry, the almost equally persecuted Puritan, the honest old yeoman and his comely dame, the hard-working husbandman, and the "sturdy beggar," might be made to act their parts; but this would not be history, and may therefore be left to the hands of the romancer and the novelist.

The existing records of this period, so far at least as they refer to Lancashire, are neither so numerous nor so rich in details as we could wish, yet sufficient has been preserved to enable us, without "drawing upon imagination for our facts," to present a series of sketches of the county and its inhabitants between the years 1558 and 1603—sketches which, if they have no other merit, are "true to nature."

The chief town of the county for many centuries had been and still was Lancaster, although in size and importance it was now excelled by several towns of more modern birth. The assizes were held here, and the ancient castle (built on the site of the Roman castrum) was used as the county gaol, and at the time of the threatened Spanish invasion it was again fortified, and its great keep raised to the height of seventy feet. Lancaster claims to be the oldest corporate borough in the county, having received its charter of incorporation 4 Richard I. (A.D. 1193), which, with many additional privileges,

had repeatedly been confirmed; yet in the reign of Henry VIII. Leland records that "Lancaster has had many beautiful houses," but that they were then "falling into ruin;" and Camden in 1586 asserts that it was at that time "but thinly peopled, and all the inhabitants farmers, the country round it being cultivated, open, flourishing, and not bare of wood." These two accounts agree well with the plan of the town taken by Speed, which, although it shows as then existing, the Free School, the Church, the Castle, the Old Hall, the New Hall, the Fishmarket, the Pinfold, and the White Cross, yet it only gives the names of eight streets, in which the houses for the most part appear to be detached, and with long strips of land between them.

We have no authentic return of the population of Lancaster at this time, but it must have been inconsiderable as compared with Manchester, which was now fast rising in importance and wealth, and had been described by Leland as "the fairest, best builded, quickest [*i.e.*, busiest], and most populus towne" in the county.

In the statute of 33 Henry VIII. (1541-42), c. xv., the inhabitants of Manchester are described as "well set a worke in makinge of clothes as well of lynnens as of woollen, whereby they have obteyned, gotten, and come vnto riches and welthy lyuings, and haue kepte and set manye artificers and poor folkes to work;" and in consequence of their honesty and true dealing, "many strangers, as wel of Ireland as of other places within this realme, haue resorted to the said towne with lynnens yarne, woollen and other wares for makinge clothes."

In 1552 an Act was passed for the regulation of the manufacture of woollen cloth, and in it mention is made of "Manchester rugs and frizes," the making of which had now become the great trade of the place; and which was also extensively carried on in the surrounding district, so much so that in 1566 it became necessary to pass an Act of Parliament to regulate the fees of the queen's *aulneger* (measurer), who was to have deputies in Bolton, Blackburn, and Bury, and whose

duty it was to prevent the "cottons,* frizes, and rugs" from being sold unsealed.

We have no plan of Manchester during the time of Elizabeth, but it may safely be assumed that it consisted of some ten or twelve streets, radiating from the old church (now the cathedral) as a centre; the population numbered 10,000;† and its water supply came from a single spring, rising in what is now known as Fountain Street, and which flowed down Market Street to a conduit to Smithy Door. The town's business was transacted in a building called the "Booths," where the court of the lord of the manor was also held, and near it stood the stocks, pillory, and whipping-post, and not far distant was the cucking-stool pool.‡ The streets were narrow and unpaved, and the houses were built mostly of timber and plaster, with projecting upper stories, and roofed in some instances with tiles, but mostly with the primitive thatching.

The College of Manchester was dissolved by Edward VI. in 1547, but refounded by Mary; and on accession of Queen Elizabeth it was discovered that in it the Bishop of Chester had imprisoned a number of Protestants who were at once released, and its warden (Lawrence Vaux), who refused to take the oath required, was deprived of his office.

The ecclesiastical commissioners appointed by her Majesty were not slow in turning to a useful purpose the establishment which they found existing, and they therefore declared that the college revenues should be under the control of the Crown, and that the Bishop of York should be empowered to make any necessary alterations in its constitution. Under this *régime* it became the college of the county, and enjoyed an importance never before obtained.§ This prosperity did not, however, last very long; not only did the revenue of the

* These were really woollen goods. Cotton manufacture did not begin in Lancashire until nearly a century later.

† Charter of Queen Elizabeth to the college. There is some doubt as to whether the number refers to the town only or to the parish.

‡ Court Leet Records.

§ Hibbert Ware's Hist. of Collegiate Church of Manchester.

college during the wardenship of Thomas Herle (1570-1578) become reduced, but the popular feeling against it became so violent that its clergy were said to have been beaten in the streets, and one of them on his way to the church was attacked by a man called William Smith, and was wounded by a dagger in three places.

In 1578, on the petition of the inhabitants, the queen granted to the college a renewed charter, from which we quote the following scale of daily wages, as illustrative of the period; the sums indicated were only to be paid for such days as the recipients were actually "present and resident:" Warden, 4s. 5d.; fellows, 1s. 4d.; chaplains, 6½d.; choristers, 4½d.; singing boy, 2¾d.

Manchester at this time was not a borough, but the lord of the manor held a market, with privileges of assize of bread and ale, etc.; he also held court leet with view of frank pledge, and these gatherings no doubt formed the most stirring events in each year.

The following extracts from the records of the court leet* will well illustrate the state of the town at this period.

1559. It was ordered "that no one shall have their horses, mares, or cattles, to the intent to beat [*i.e.*, bait] or fodder them in the streets there before any man's house or shop."

1560. "The inhabitants upon the south side of the church" are to make "one pair of butts," and the "inhabitants of the north side one other pair of butts," under a penalty of 6s. 8d. "No person within the town, etc., shall brew to sell unless they be able to make two honest beddis [beds], and every one of them shall put forth of his window, or some other convenient place, the sign of a hand." When the ale is done the hand is to be withdrawn. All other beersellers who can make up "four honest beds" are to "set forth a fair and commendable sign."

1561. "No person to cast any dung, etc., over the church-yard wall."

In 1566, the streets being unpaved, an order is made that

* Chetham Society, vol. lxiii.

"all men within the town shall pave afore their houses." Swine appear to have been kept in large numbers, and a swineherd was appointed whose duty it was to collect them each morning and take them out of the town.

The great social problem, the pollution of rivers, now began to present itself, and three officers are nominated to prevent "anything noisome or hurtful being cast into the river Irk."

1569. An order is made that "no rogg [*i.e.*, rugs] be wet openly in the streets, but must be done in or at the backsides of the houses." In the same year a pair of stocks are ordered, which were only removed in 1812.

1573. The court would seem to have had a dream of temperance, for they direct that "whatsoever person shall be found drunken in any ale-house or seen abroad in the streets" shall be imprisoned all night in "the dungeon," and when released pay 6d. to the constable, which, however, was "to be given to the poor;" and any ale-house keeper "found drunken was henceforth to be discharged from ale-house keeping." In this year seven houses are suspected of being "disorderly."

1595. "No man shall sell any corn in any house upon the market day, but shall bring it into the open market, and neither open any sack, nor make any price of the said corn and grain until the market bell be rung."

About this time great stress is laid on the order that "no butter or suet shall be put in cakes."

Although Manchester had now become the most advanced and enlightened town in the county, yet we have no evidence of the existence of anything like a bookseller's shop, and it is not until 1664 that any book is known to have been printed here, except one or more tracts which issued from the famous itinerant printing press of "Martin Marprelate," which was at work in Manchester in 1588, and was seized in 1593 whilst at work on a portion of "Han ye any work for the Cooper."*

A plague raged in Manchester in 1565, or rather, as Hollingworth puts it, "a sore sickness of which very many died,"

* The first Manchester book recorded is "A Guide to Heaven," printed at Smithy Door, 1664 (The Lancashire Library, p. 157).

which was succeeded by a great dearth (in 1586), when a penny white loaf weighed but six or eight ounces.*

The same chronicle records that in 1578 the churchwardens levied a tax of nearly £9 for destroying the crows.

As at the present day, the collegiate church was a favourite place for weddings, about the conducting of which it became necessary to make strict regulations. For example, the people coming from outside the town were wont to bring with them "strange pipers or other minstrels," who sometimes played before the wedding party to the church doors, and afterwards at the wedding dinner. This was found to draw "some gains to them," which ought to have gone into the pockets of the "town's waytes," and they were therefore ordered to come no more; and it was further enacted (in 1565), that at ordinary wedding feasts no one should pay above fourpence as his share.†

Leaving Manchester for the present we will turn to Liverpool, which in 1565 consisted of only 138 houses and 7 streets, and its inhabitants could not have exceeded 900.

The number of vessels belonging to the port was one dozen, which were navigated by 75 men.‡

Liverpool had in fact very much decreased in wealth and importance, and no doubt merited the description given of it by one of its Members of Parliament, who calls it the "decayed town of Liverpool," and reminds the queen that it is her own town (*i.e.*, part of the duchy possessions), and "hath a castle and two chauntries clear, the fee-farms of the town, the ferry-boat, two windmills, the custom of the duchy, the new custom of the tonnage and poundage, etc.," and implores her Majesty not to "suffer them to be utterly cast away," but to relieve "them like a mother."§

In what manner the queen exercised her maternal rights does not appear. The town, however, did not forget to whom it belonged, for on the 17th November 1576, in com-

* Mancuniensis, p. 82.

† Court Leet Records.

‡ Picton's Memorials of Liverpool, vol. i., p. 64.

§ Corporation Records; Picton's Memorials of Liverpool.

memoration of the commencement of the eighteenth year of her Majesty's reign, the mayor lighted a bonfire in the market-place, another "anenst" his house; and in obedience to his order all the inhabitants did the same, after which there was a liberal distribution of "sack and other white wine and sugar" (not a word about the bread), standing all without the door, lauding and praising God for the most prosperous reign of her most gracious sovereign.*

In the year 1558, the Mayor of Liverpool was ordered to cause a proclamation to be made at the cross, that "no shoemaker of the countrie doe bring shoes to sell in Liverpole market made of horse hyde or of unlawful barked leather;" on this offence being committed a third time, the vendor was to be "bannyshed the market."†

In this year the plague appeared here, having, it is said, been introduced from Manchester in the clothes of an Irishman. It "increased daily and daily to a great number," so that "between St Lawrence Day and Martlemas then next after" upwards of 240 died of it.‡

The inhabitants had scarcely recovered from the terrors of pestilence than (in 1561) a great storm destroyed the breakwater of their haven, whereupon the mayor called together such of the townspeople "as were then at home," who unanimously resolved upon its reconstruction, and to turn the "fresh water out of the old pool into the new haven," and towards which the mayor "of his free will gave a pistole of gold,"§ which was then equal to 5s. 10d.

The port of Liverpool was at this time a kind of dependency on the more important port of Chester. Although Liverpool was created a free borough in the reign of John, yet it was not until 1699 that it became a parish; previous to that date it formed a chapelry of Walton-on-the-Hill. The only church in Liverpool was known as the Chapel of our Lady and of St Nicholas, which in 1590 had nine stained glass windows containing the arms of various local families.||

* Corporation Records; Picton's Memorials of Liverpool.

† *ib.*

‡ Corporation Records.

§ *ib.*

|| Harleian MSS.

The old castle and tower were then in existence; and the ancient town hall was in 1567 for the first time slated. For the amusement of the people a cock-pit was set up in 1567 at the public expense; and in 1576 horse races were established, which were held on Ascension Day. In 1588 Liverpool returned as one of its Members of Parliament the famous Francis Bacon.

One of the most important towns in Lancashire at this period was Preston, which had had the benefit of ten royal charters before Elizabeth came to the throne, and had then a population of about 3000.* It consisted of three principal streets, called Churchgate, Fishergate, and Friargate, from which issued several narrow lanes, which are still called "Weinds." By virtue of a long time-honoured custom, Preston holds every twentieth year a "Guild Merchant," of which, during the reign of Elizabeth, three were celebrated, viz., 1562, 1582, and 1602.

From the records of the last we glean the following items: The guild was commenced on the 30th August, Henry Catterall being mayor. The guild roll contains the names of 537 in-burgesses, and 561 foreign or out burgesses. Amongst the latter are the Earl of Derby; Thomas Walmsley, one of the Justices of the Queen's Bench at Westminster; John Saville, third Baron of the Exchequer; and Thomas Hesketh, the Attorney-General for Lancashire.

Thomas Woodrooff was admitted a burgess in consideration of his ringing the "daie bell" and the "couv'le feu" (curfew), and for "makeinge all the seats in the churche, both against Sabath daies and festivale daies, sweete and cleane."

The total received by the stewards for fines, etc., amounted to over £249. Amongst the enactments made at this guild were—that no person shall sell beer unless he can lodge at least four men and four horses.

Strangers being in the habit of selling woollen cloth and fustian, declaring the same to be of their own make, where-

* Hardwick's History of Preston.

as they were manufactured in the town, an order was made that such sales should not take place until "proof had been made before the mayor." Persons taking into their houses the children of foreigners (*i.e.*, not freemen) likely to become chargeable to the town, without the consent of the mayor, were to forfeit 6s. 8d.*

From these orders, as well as those which were issued by the Manchester court leet, it will be seen that the question of hotel accommodation had at this time claimed the attention of the authorities, and as a result it was recorded that now "the inns in Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, and Warrington" are so much improved, "that each comer" is "sure to lie in clean sheets wherein no man hath lodged. If the traveller be on horseback, his bed-cloth cost him nothing; but if he go on foot, he hath a penny to pay for the same; but whether he be horseman or footman, if his chamber be once appointed, he may carie the kaie [key] with him as of his owne house."†

Of Warrington *en passant* it will be sufficient to say, that in 1586 its inhabitants numbered 2250;‡ that it was then, according to Camden, celebrated for its manufacture of sail-cloths; its streets were narrow, its houses mostly of wood, hence the danger of fire was so great, that every householder was required to keep a ladder of at least sixteen staves.

Bury, Burnley, Rochdale, Bolton, and several other market towns, appear towards the close of the sixteenth century to have each become a centre of the then rapidly increasing trade of the county—a trade which has done so much to produce the unexampled prosperity of Lancashire and of the kingdom at large.

The general appearance of Lancashire before the commencement of the woollen and cotton manufacture, and the consequent rapid increase of population and buildings, must have been very different from its present aspect. Although (except perhaps in the extreme north) towns, villages, and

* Dobson and Harland's History of Preston Guild.

† Holinshed's Itinerary.

‡ Beaumont's Annals of Warrington, p. 24.

houses were everywhere in abundance, and roads villanously bad connected one place with another, yet there still remained much to show what nature had done to make Lancashire one of the fairest specimens of her handiwork. Large unbroken forests, where still lingered the lordly stag, surrounded with game of varied kind, were yet to be seen; and the dense smoke from the tall factory chimney was not there to blast and wither with its poisonous breath the tender foliage of the stripling oak. Its rivers then meandered through miles of pleasant lands, where the lowing of cattle and the melodious songs of birds formed the only accompaniment to the gentle rippling of the waters; no contaminating dye-works, chemical works, or other followers in the train of commerce, had yet planted themselves along the banks; and the salmon, the grayling, the trout, and other smaller fry, held undisputed possession, unless they were molested by the otters which were then abundant.

True indeed it is that vast tracts of land, then described as "mosses," such as "Pilling Moss," "Chatmoss," and the moss where Southport now stands, were utterly waste and uncultivated, yet they formed a kind of harbour for wild fowl of various species, the hunting of which was one of the sports of the age.

In writing of the state of religion in Lancashire at this time, it will be necessary for a moment to refer to the reign of the preceding queen, who, while lighting the fires in Smithfield, had not failed to discover Lancashire men who were worthy of the martyr's death, amongst whom were John Bradford, a native of Manchester, and George Marshe, who was born in the parish of Dean, near Bolton; but as it was not every man who could be "brave unto death," large numbers of the Protestants in the north of England fled to Holland and other parts of the Continent, who immediately, on the accession of Elizabeth, began to return, and many of them, from dread of Popery, took refuge in Puritanism (which now rapidly increased), and in taking this step they rendered themselves almost as obnoxious to the queen as they had been to her predecessor

—for our virgin ruler hated a Puritan only with a less bitter hatred than she felt towards a Papist.

Nowhere in England, perhaps, were the Roman Catholics more numerous than they were in Lancashire, and a large number of the oldest and most powerful families still adhered to the old faith; this being the case, it is scarcely to be wondered at that at one assize at Lancaster six hundred recusants were presented, and the prisons were full.*

The effect of the various Acts of Parliament passed in the early part of this reign was at once to repeal all that had been done by Mary, and to make Catholic England again a Protestant country. All the bishops (with one exception) resigned; yet the parochial clergy, almost to a man, agreed to accept the new form of religion rather than give up their benefices. The clergy, therefore, who now held the various Lancashire livings must, for the most part, have been men of pliant and accommodating consciences, who could, like the Vicar of Bray, change their religion as easily as their surplices, or they must have been men, who, while they professed adherence to Protestantism, at heart were Papists; add to this that their "salaries were small," and their "parishes everlasting," and we see that they were but badly qualified shepherds to have the care of such large, scattered, and disunited flocks.

The result of all this, as might have been expected, was that the Lancashire Papists and Puritans were marked for prosecution, and so great was the sympathy shown to the victims, that in 1565 it was reported that in "Lancashire, if a pursuivant came to the justices with a warrant, they stayed him until they had sent to warn the recusant that a search would be made, and if he had anything in his house he must convey it away."† About the same time Catholics in some instances were forbidden to leave the country, as was the case with Nich. Banester, schoolmaster of Preston, who was confined to Lancashire, and was reported upon as being "an unlearned

* Hollingworth's Mancuinensis.

† State Papers, Dom., Addenda, 1547-1565.

priest."* A few years later and the aspect of affairs appears even worse, as will be seen from the following report:

1570. *Richard, Bishop of Carlisle, to the Earl of Sussex.*

"Before my coming out of York, Sir John Atherton arrived there from Lancashire, where he long resided, and not being able to come to my house through infirmities, he sent to my father and declared to him how all things in Lancashire savoured of rebellion; what provision of men, armour, horses, and munition were made there; what assemblies of 500 or 600 at a time; what wanton talk of invasion by the Spaniards; and how in most places the people fell from their obedience, and utterly refused to attend divine service in the English tongue. How, since Felton set up his bull, etc., the greatest there never came to any service, nor suffered any to be said in their houses, but openly entertained Louvainist massers with their bulls."†

In the same year the bishop writes to Sir William Cecil, stating that "in Lancashire the people fall from religion, revolt to Popery, and refuse to come to church."‡

In 1580 Sir Edm. Trafforde writes to the Earl of Leicester that the state of Lancashire is "lamentable to behold, considering the great disorder thereof in matters of religion, masses being said in several places;" and he desires that the offenders may be rigorously dealt with. §

In this year (perhaps in reply to this appeal) a royal ecclesiastical commission, consisting of the bishop of the diocese, Lord Derby, and others, was formed to "bring them to more dutiful minds."|| At about the same time an Act was passed by which absentees from church for a month were liable to a penalty of £20.

In 1591 a report was sent to the council, from which it appeared that the Lancashire commission had made "small reformation," that the churches on Sundays and holidays were still empty, and that there were "multitudes of bastards and drunkards;" in fact, that "the country was in a worse case

* State Papers, Dom., Addenda, p. 523 (in Calendar).

† *Ib.*, Addenda, xix. 16 i.

‡ *Ib.*, lxxiv. 22.

§ *Ib.*, cxxxviii. 18.

|| *Ib.*, Addenda, 1580-1625, p. 7 (Calendar).

than before, and the number of these not resorting to divine service greater." The people, it is added, "lack instruction, for the preachers are few; most of the parsons are unlearned, many of these learned not resident, and divers unlearned daily admitted into very good benefices." But even a greater evil than this lurks behind, for the young are "for the most part trained up by such as profess Papistry. The proclamation for apprehension of seminaries, Jesuits, and mass priests, and for calling home children from parts beyond sea, is not executed," neither are the instructions to the justices to summon before them "all parsons, vicars, curates, churchwardens, and sworn men,"* and to examine them on oath how the statutes of 1 and 23 Elizabeth as to resorting to churches are obeyed. It is further reported that some of "the coroners and justices and their families do not frequent church, and many have not communicated at the Lord's Supper since the beginning of her Majesty's reign." Some of the clergy have "refrained from preaching for lack of auditors; the people swarm in the streets and ale-houses during service time," and many churches have only present "the curate and the clerk, and open markets are kept in service time," and there are about "many lusty vagabonds." Marriages and christenings are celebrated in holes and corners "by seminary and other priests." Ale-houses are "innumerable, and the law for keeping them in order is unexecuted, whereby the toleration of drunkenness and unlawful games and other great abuses follow. Cock-fights, etc., are tolerated on Sundays and holidays during service, at which justices of the peace and some ecclesiastical commissioners are often present" (it is to be presumed that they were at the cock-fight and not at the service). The report concludes by stating that Yorkshire, and other counties adjoining, cannot "be kept in order so long as Lancashire remains unreformed."† Affairs appear now to have reached a climax, for in 1591 Sir Robert Cecil writes to the effect that "most of the Papists in Lancashire have been compelled last

* Sworn men in some parishes constituted a kind of vestry.

† State Papers, Dom., 1591, ccxl. 138.

winter to come to church, and some are sent to prison, and others have forsaken the country." There is, he adds, now "no house in Lancashire worse than Mr Yates', the schoolmaster at Blackburn, whose wife, daughter, and maid are recusants, and although the maid has been known to have done much hurt amongst the scholars, he is yet suffered to keep her."*

From another report made by some of the clergy of Lancashire about the year 1590,† it appears that many persons were suspected of having daily masses. Popish fasts and festivals were openly observed, the "crosses in streetes and hige waies" being "devowtly garnished." Wakes, ales, greenes, May games, rushbearings, bearbaites, doveales, etc., were exercised on the Sabbath; some who come to church do more harm than good by their "crossinge and knockinges of theire breste, and some times with beades closly handeled" (*i.e.*, partly concealed). Some still use the popish burial rites before they bring the corpse to church; and at marriage they bring "the parties to and from churche with pipinge, and spend the whole Sabbothe in daunsinge;" the churches "generally lye ruinowse, unrepaired, and unfurnished;" the "chappelles of ease (which are three times as many as the parishe churches) ar many of them utterly destitute of any curates, and thereby growe into utter ruine and desolation."

This report was signed by a fellow of the Manchester collegiate church, the rector of Bury, the vicar of Poulton-in-the-Fylde, the rector of Wigan, the rector of Warrington, the rector of Middleton, the vicar of Kirkham, the vicar of Rochdale, and others.

As an extreme example of one of the chapels of ease "gone to ruin and desolation," may be instanced the case of Singleton, in Kirkham parish. The curate was presented to the bishop in 1578 on the following charges: "There is not servyse done in due tyme. He keepeth no hous nor releveth the poore. He is not dyligent in visitinge the sycke. He doth not teach the catechisme. There are no sermons. He churcheth fornicatours without doing any penaunce. He maketh a

* State Papers, Dom., ccxl.

† Chetham Society, xcvi., p. 1.

donge hill in the chapel yeard, and he hath lately kept a typling hous and a nowty woman in it."*

In 1599, on the evidence of Sir Thomas Heneage, Chancellor of the Duchy, it appears that in consequence of the small value of many of the Lancashire livings, and the fact that the "parsonages are in private hands, there are few or no incumbents of learning or credit, and that the priests, creeping in, draw them from their duty." In consequence of this report salaries were ordered to be paid to certain preachers (afterwards called king's preachers); the death of the chancellor, however, delayed the execution of the order, but upon Sir Robert Cecil becoming chancellor a new order was made, that £200, out of moneys received from profits of the lands of recusants, should thus be "distributed according to the direction of the Bishop of Chester,"† who had reported that he had then hopes of reducing Lancashire to conformity, as in the Fylde district, instead of fourteen or fifteen attending church, he had large and attentive congregations.

From this and other evidence it is clear that towards the close of the century some slight improvement‡ had taken place, yet still the agents of the Government often met with most serious opposition in carrying out their instructions. One example of this will suffice. In 1600,§ Henry Breres, draper of Preston, was ordered by the mayor of that town (Henry Hodkinson) to convey to the county jail one Robert Middleton, a seminary priest, who had been delivered to the mayor by Sir Richard Houghton and Thomas Hesketh. Breres, with a suitable escort, set off for Lancaster, and had proceeded about five miles on the way when they were met by five men (four horsemen and one on foot), who roughly demanded if the prisoner was not a priest; not receiving a satisfactory reply, they called on him to go with them, which he attempted to do, and a general fight ensued, all the party drawing their swords, when one of the horsemen, called Greenlow, presented a pistol at James Dike, one of Breres'

* History of Kirkham, p. 45.

† State Papers, Dom.

‡ State Papers, Dom., cclxx. 20.

§ *Id.*, cclxxv. 115.

men, but it missed fire, and Dike, "with his sword, unhorsed" his opponent, whereupon he was "mightily assaulted of another of the horsemen, till, by means of a stroke which he gave Greenlow's companion, the rest of the party fled, taking the nag upon which the priest rode. By this time others had come to the assistance of Breres, and they pursued Greenlow for a mile, but "he kept them off with his pistol," which at last he discharged, "wounding one Travice in the thigh with four bullets." He was then taken prisoner and brought to Preston, and, on being searched, an address to the queen was found in his possession, in which he complains that the Puritans, in order to complete the overthrow of the Catholics, "have harnessed themselves with the helmet of dissimulation, the breastplate of malice, the sword of persecution, in a scabbard of liberty, girt about the loins of sensuality, and the shoes of zeal, to shed blood, and their tongues have they sharpened like serpents."

Before the dissolution of the monasteries and other religious houses, for such education as the people received (and it was scant enough) they were indebted to the priests. Furness Abbey had its schoolroom (as no doubt had the other houses), where such as were intended for the priesthood were instructed; and, possibly, this education might in some cases be extended to others; for example, at Preston in the fifteenth century, the founder of the Chantry there provided that the priest should be "learned in grammar to the intent to have a free grammar school." * When Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne there were free grammar schools at Farnworth in Prescott, Lancaster, Whalley, Manchester, Clitheroe, Liverpool, and probably at one or two more places, but during her reign these institutions were greatly multiplied, Blackburn, Burnley,† Hawkshead, Leyland, Middleton, Rivington, Rochdale, and many more being established.

Notwithstanding this spread of education, the Lancashire

* Baine's Lancashire, ii. 469 (1870 edit.).

† Burnley school was not in existence in 1556, but may have been erected before the time of Elizabeth.

people still held a firm belief in witchcraft. Ferdinand, the Earl of Derby, was supposed to have been bewitched to death, in which "belief very many, and most of them very learned men, concurred." * Another Earl of Derby (Edward) was accused of keeping a conjuror secretly in his house; and in 1597 a pardon was granted to Alice Brerley of Castleton, near Rochdale, who had been condemned to death for killing James Kirshaw and Robert Scholefield by witchcraft. †

Numerous other instances might be adduced to prove the superstitious character of the age, which, however, was not peculiar to this county.

Much might be written about the military aspect of Lancashire at this period, but the subject has been so fully treated of in "The Lancashire Lieutenancy under the Tudors and Stuarts" (Chetham Society, vols. xlix. and l.), that it will be sufficient here to say that the county was called upon from time to time to furnish its quota of the national defenders, and that in 1588 fears were entertained that the Spaniards intended to land at the Pile of Fouldrey in Lancashire, "that part of the countrye beinge known unto docter Allen (who was borne hard by the Pyle), and the inhabitants thereabouts all ynfecte wth his Romish poyson." So reads the report to the Privy Council; ‡ and in consequence the beacon on Rivington Pike was always kept ready to be lighted, and guarded night and day by a duly-appointed watchman.

From the "Declaration of the Accompts of Sir John Byron, Knighte," one of the deputy-lieutenants of the county, we glean the following items of expenditure: §

"Paide to Robte Pilkington, at too seu'all tymes, for repayringe and kepinge the beacon at Ryven Pyke,	£6 17 4
Paide for wage of 200 souldia' trayned too days march in 1587,	20 0 0

* Harleian MSS., codex 247.

† State Papers, Dom., cclxiii.

‡ Lansdowne MSS., codex 56, part 51.

§ Local Gleaning (*Manchester Courier*), p. 144.

Paide for powder at Ormskirk the saide	
tyme of trayninge,	£4 0 0
Paide for 210 lbs. of powder,	14 0 0
Paide for 28 rowles of matches,	0 10 8"

Passing from the military to the ordinary everyday life, the following items will well illustrate the cost of living in the time of "Good Queen Bess;" they are extracted from "The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall" * (A.D. 1585-1603):

"PROVISIONS: Three salte ffyshe, 3s. 4d.; 4 salt salmon and one-half a fresh salmon, 27s. 3d.; 1 lb. of figs, 3d.; a quarter of veal, 15d.; a quarter of mutton, 14d.; a pound of pepper, 4s.; a stone of butter, 3s. 4d.; 2 woodcockes, 4d.; 84 chickens, 11s.; 8 goslings, xxd.; 2 geese, 8d.; 2 dozen larkes, 12d.; a fresh salmon, 3s. 8d.; 32 snipes, 22d.; 4 lapwings and 2 grey plovers, 8d.; half a fat lamb, 2s. 6d.; 12 cupons, 7s. 8d.; 1 pike and 2 breames, 3s. 8d.; 2 dozen of dace and 1 perch, 5d.; 1 peck of apples, 2s. 4d.; 5 eggs, 1d.; 44 quarts of sack, 22s. WAGES: The smith for 2 days, 12d.; for a day mowing, 6d.; for ditching a rood, 4d.; six days' work at the delph [stone quarry], 15d.; a woman a day clipping sheep, 2d.; 4 days' haymaking, 4d.; spinning wool for blankets, 2s. a stone; weaving pieces of blankets at three farthings a yard; whitewashing, 2d. to 4d. a day; a stonemason, 4d. a day. SUNDRIES: A load of wheat, 10s.; a cow, 26s.; twinters [*i.e.*, calves two winters old], 23s.; an ox, £2, 8s.; 100 bricks, 12d.; a heifer, 15s.; a pig, 1s. 2d.; spent at Preston for dinner of three men, 12d.; a butcher's knife, 4d.; a pair of garden sheers, 15d.; a garden spade, rake, and dubbing houke, 1s.; 2 sheep-skins, for an arrow case, 10d.; an ounce of silk, 20d.; $\frac{1}{2}$ ton of Spanish iron, £7, 14s. 4d.; three pair of new shoes, 3s. 11d.; a quire of paper, 4d."

Of the domestic architecture, it may be stated that the houses of the lower and middle classes were almost uniformly built of wood and clay, those of the more "well-to-do" having large porches attached, with halls and parlours, whilst the half-timbered houses of the highest classes were still more

* Chetham Society, vol. xxxv.

ornate. Some of these are yet to be seen, and form most interesting relics of the Elizabethan age; the finest and most complete of them is Speke Hall, which was built in 1598, and which is described in Nash's "Mansions of England." Ord-sall Hall, near Manchester; Smithell's Hall, near Bolton; Lydiate Hall, near Ormskirk; and several others, might be named as noble examples of this style of architecture.

As positive evidence of the nature of the contents of the higher-class houses, nothing can be more satisfactory than the "inventories" taken immediately after the death of their owners, but we have only space for a few extracts, taken from various sources of this kind. In the bedrooms were feather-beds, flock-beds, truckle-beds, chests, coffers or arks, mattresses, pillows, bolsters, blankets, coverlets, flax sheets, curtains of moccadowe (a kind of woollen fabric), etc. In the parlours and dining-rooms were throne chairs, throne buffets, stools covered with needlework, carpets of Turkey work, cushions of the same, and pictures. Maps and books now began to make their appearance as part of the household goods.

In the hall were often found coats of plate armour, daggers, pistols, bucklers, and occasionally complete suits of armour, whilst in the kitchens and minor offices pots, pans, dishes, and glass made a formidable array. Cups of silver, with covers and without, goblets of silver and silver-gilt, silver spoons, and other articles of plate were now in common use. Among the articles of clothing we find "knit netherstocks;" "jerkers, and breeches of striped plumet;" "doublets of ash-colour, with silver buttons;" "breeches quilted and stitched with red silk;" "gowns of damask, furred with lamb;" kirtles of velvet, satin, worsted, and moccadowe; silk hats; mufflers; Dutch cloaks of damask; "tawny clothe gowns, faced with cony, lined with lamb, and laid on with lace," etc. Table-cloths of damask and of diaper, as well as table-napkins, now frequently occur. The dining-tables were mostly on tressels, and though chairs were more or less used, frequent mention is made of "joyned forms," which sometimes were covered with "Turkey work."

In a paper like this, many subjects of interest must, of

course, be left untouched, but we have brought forward enough to show that although Lancashire was wealthier and in a better state in 1603 than it was in 1558, yet it is an open question how much of that prosperity was due to the wisdom or clemency of the reigning queen; but on one point no doubt exists, and that is, that the county palatine is infinitely wealthier, and its inhabitants infinitely happier in the days of Queen Victoria than they were in the "golden days of Good Queen Bess."

HISTORICAL NOTES ON SOME OF THE ANCIENT
MANUSCRIPTS FORMERLY BELONGING TO
THE MONASTIC LIBRARY OF WALTHAM
HOLY CROSS.

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IT appears from the writings of Eusebius, Basil, Jerome, and Augustine, that libraries were at a very early period attached to various ecclesiastical establishments; and that these libraries were chiefly composed of liturgical and other service books, together with manuscript copies of the Scriptures (in the original language), homilies, catechisms, psalters, and other similar works. Many of these works were of great value and importance, especially those belonging to the Oriental churches.* And to some of these early houses of worship were attached separate buildings for libraries and schools.

In later times most of the large churches had their *Scriptorium*, or apartment where the *chartularius* wrote and transcribed the *Ordinals* containing the rubric and directory for the priests in service. There were also *Collectaries* wherein the collects were written, and *Troparies*, *Consuetudinals*, etc. Adjoining the *Scriptorium* was the library proper, which, in most English monasteries, was well stored with choice manuscripts;† there were no fewer than one thousand seven hundred manuscript tracts in the library at Peterborough Cathedral, besides a catalogue of books belonging to the Priory of Dover and the Abbey of St Mary de la Pre at Leicester.‡ These ponderous tomes of skin, together with a

* Riddle's *Christian Antiquities*, bk. v., p. 691.

† Hawkins' *Hist. Music*, vol. ii., p. 254.

‡ Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, x.

variety of unbound membranes, present a faithful mirror of the general literature of the Middle Ages when the bibliomaniacal spirit of the monkish calligraphists was at its height. As regards their skill in penmanship, they cannot be equalled in the present day. Their works are the principal models of all modern illuminations, and are characteristic of the "patristic eloquence and pious erudition" * of the pre-Reformation period. The style of letter or character used in the Norman period was called Lombardic, and is found in public grants, charters, and law proceedings. This style remained unchanged till the time of Edward III. Caley remarks that the handwriting of ancient records has gradually degenerated from age to age; thus the records of the Saxon era, whether written in Saxon or Latin, are infinitely plainer and more legible than those of subsequent eras; they are also little obscured with abbreviations, which have created much doubt and ambiguity in after-ages. From the reign of William I. to that of Henry III., the charters, grants, etc., are generally found written in a plain and perspicuous hand, and especially those done by the monks, who imitated the modern Gothic characters which were introduced in this country in the twelfth century.† The scribes of the Middle Ages, we are told, carried their writing materials appended to their girdles. These materials consisted of a pen case and an ink horn formed of "*cuir bouilli*," or "leather softened by hot water, then impressed with ornament, and hardened by baking." A specimen of these useful materials employed by the notaries of the "dark ages," may be seen on an incised brass in St Mary Key Church, Ipswich, *temp.* Edward IV.‡

Consequent upon the dissolution of the monastic institutions of this country in the reign of Henry VIII., most of the ancient libraries were broken up, and many of the rare old manuscripts scattered and destroyed. We are told by the learned Bale, who was no friend of the monks, that "never

* Bibliomania in the Middle Ages (Merryweather), p. 99.

† Court-hand Restored (Wright), *Intro.* xi.

‡ The Book of Days (Chambers), vol. ii., p. 164.

had we bene offended for the loss of our libraryes, beyng so many in nombre, and in so desolate places, for the more parte, yf the chiefe monuments and most notable workes of our most excellent wryters had been reserved. If there had bene in every shyre in Englande but one solempne lybrarye to the preservacyon of those noble workes, and preferment of good lernynge in oure posteritye, it had bene sumwhat. But to destroye all without consideracyon, is, and wyll be unto Englande for ever, a most horryble infamy amonge the grave senyours of other nacyons. A great nombre of them, whych purchased those superstycouse mansyons, reserved of those lybrary bokes, some to serve theyr jakes, some to scoure their candlestycks, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they sold to the grossers and sopesellers, and some they sent over see to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderynge of foren nacyons. Yea, the unyversytees of this realme are not all clere in this detestable fact. But cursed is that bellye whyche seketh to be fedde with suche ungodly gaynes, and so depelye shameth his natural cuntrye. I knowe a merchant man, whych shall at thys tyme be namelesse, that boughte the contentes of two noble lybraryes for 40 shillings pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. Thys stuffe hath he occupied in the stede of graye paper by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he had store ynought for as many years to come. A prodigyouse example is this, and to be abhorred of all men which love their nation as they should.* In the reign of Edward VI. certain of the inhabitants of the parish of Rayleigh in this cuntry met one Sunday afternoon after divine service, and sold, without the consent of the churchwardens, "two *missals*, two *graduals*, four *processionals*, two *hymn books*, four *dirge books*, one *psalter*, four other MS. volumes, and sundry church goods, for the sum of 40s., part of which they gave to the stage players who played at Rayleigh on Trinity Sunday, and the rest they

* *Vide Bale's Leland's Laboryouse Journey.*

bestowed upon the reparation of the corn market."* It appears that the king did not trouble much about this kind of book trade nor the council, so long as the books sold did not contain any clasps with "precious metals" upon them.† Some of these ancient service books were curiously embossed and plated with gold and silver, the value of which, not unfrequently, induced certain dishonest persons to steal them for the sake of their covers, despite of the awful anathema appended to many of them against any person who should be guilty of such a deed. The subject-matter of many of these MS. volumes was no doubt literally worthless, full of legends and wonderful miracles that never took place. On this point Fuller remarks that "there were many volumes full fraught with superstition, which, notwithstanding, might be useful to learned men, except any will deny apothecaries the privilege of keeping poison in their shops, when they can make antidotes of them. But besides these, what beautiful Bibles, rare fathers, subtle schoolmen, useful historians, ancient, middle, modern—what painful comments were here amongst them—what monuments of mathematics all massacred together!"‡ And Wood informs us that upwards of a cart-load of valuable MSS. were removed from Merton College and destroyed, also many from the Oxford Colleges. Although many of the early MSS. which once adorned the library of the monastery of Waltham Holy Cross are lost, yet a few are preserved in the collections of MSS. in the British Museum and elsewhere. Doubtless several valuable MSS. were destroyed in 1731 in the fire of the Cottonian Library. One of the most important of the Waltham Registers was materially injured in that conflagration. The library of Sir Robert Cotton originally consisted of 958 volumes, which number was reduced by the fire to 861

* As recently as the year 1790 no fewer than 4,194,000 volumes belonging to monasteries were burnt in France, and out of this number 25,000 were manuscripts.

† Essex Arch. Soc. Trans., vol. iii., p. 202.

‡ Church History, bk. vi., p. 335.

volumes, and out of them 105 volumes were found to be much damaged when brought to the Museum. The Waltham Register (Cott. MSS., Tiberius, c. ix.) was among those damaged. The few remaining Waltham MSS. have passed through a series of changes within the last four or five centuries, and some are now bound up with contemporary parchments, and preserved among other national monuments in the British Museum and the Public Record Office. In his account of the "English Monastic Libraries," Joseph Hunter notes under Waltham that "the library of this house contained several of Stephen Langton's Commentaries—the *Ænigmata* of Aldhelm, *Simphosius*, *Eusebius*, and *Tatwin*; with the *Vocabularius*, or *Elucidarium Bibliothecæ* of *Alexander Necham*. There were a few other books." The Cottonian MS. contains an account of the Great Charter of Waltham (folio 48), and is noticed in the catalogue as "*Registrum Monasterii S. Crucis de Waltham in com. Essexiensi; continens nimium chartas regias, pontificales, episcopales, et alias, de prædiis, terris, privilegiis, juribus, ecclesiis, indulgentiis, aliisque ad idem monasterium spectantibus.*" It also contains a variety of historical matter other than that of Waltham, *i.e.*, (1.) "*Vita Reg. Ricardi II. scripta a quodam monacho de Evesham.*" (2.) "*Libertates a rege Gulielm. II. Anselmo archiep. Cantuar. concessæ.*" (3.) "*Historiola de magna convocatione nobilium et seniorum, A. 1072; de quibusdam consuetudinibus et terris, quas Lanfrancus Cantuar. archiep. ex jure suæ ecclesiæ, ad se pertinere proclamabat.*" (4.) "*Libertates et privilegiæ concessæ a R. Gulielmo monachis de S. Trinitate Cantuariæ.*" (5.) "*Libertates a R. Henrico I. Anselmo archiep. Cantuar. et Eccl. Christi Cantuariæ concessæ.*" (6.) "*Archidiaconatûs Cantuariensis institutio et jura: ubi de lite inter archidiaconum et capitulum de jurisdictione administranda, vacante sede archiepiscopali.*" This volume consists of 258 folios, and is beautifully written on vellum. The part which suffered from fire in 1731 is perfectly restored, with the exception of a slight contraction of the margin. This manuscript is nearly

as old as the original from which it was copied. It was compiled late in the twelfth century by a Waltham scribe, probably one of the ejected canons. From the body of the work we are enabled to glean a little of the life of its author; this has been ably done by Professor Stubbs. It has been said that old charters can never be made light reading, and that all persons who care for or could use the information they contain, would prefer to see the words in which they were written.* But when we have before us such an account of the early historian as is given by Mr Stubbs in his introduction to the "*De Inventione Sanctæ Crucis Waltham*,"† we deem it best to leave the original for the present, and satisfy ourselves with the following :

"As we do not know our author's name, what little we are able to learn of him is drawn from his book [Cott. Tib. c. ix.]. Since he entered the house [of Waltham] at five years of age, continued in it fifty-three years, and was expelled in 1177, he must have been born in 1119, and commenced his education in 1124. For two years he was in association with the sacristan Turkill, from whom he heard all that was marvellous and legendary in the story of the founders. He was brought up in the school of the college under Master Peter, the son of Athelard. In time he became a *thuribularius*, a *trebler*, or censing chorister, and was in his weekly turn when the miraculous cure of Matthew took place. As he would not be more than fourteen, we are enabled to approximate to the date of that event. It must have been not later than 1133. He was made a canon early in life; for in 1144, when the houses were burned, he was one of the sufferers.‡ He owed his promotion to Dean Ernulf and Queen Adelicia. Supposing the restoration of the latter to have occurred in 1141, when the empress was decidedly in the ascendant, the date would fall between 1141 and 1144. His youth would be no objection, if in this church as in St Paul's, it was intended that there should be always canons of the three orders of priest, deacon, and sub-deacon. He leaves us in doubt of his expulsion in 1177; nor,

* See *Antiquary*, vol. ii., p. 27.

† *Vide* p. xxvi.

‡ These houses belonged to the canons of Waltham. They were destroyed in an attack upon the town and church by Geoffrey de Mandeville, who was in feud with William of Albini and others.

we may remark, does he ever allude to the circumstances which were made a ground for that measure. It is from the Austin canons that we learn that it was for careless and secular lives."

The most interesting part of the manuscript before us is the foundation charter of Harold's Church at Waltham, which is dated M.LXII., two years after the consecration of the building. Some considerable perplexity has arisen in the minds of not a few writers respecting the correct date of the foundation of Harold's Church, which will be seen if we compare the account given in the "De Invention" with Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus" (vol. iv., No. 813), Dugdale's "Monasticon," and the Essex Archæological Society's "Transactions," vol. ii., 59, in which last-mentioned work the learned writer concludes, "that the date of the dedication was May 3, 1060." It is just possible that the building was but partly erected at this time, and rendered suitable for the dedication service. Mr Stubbs, in his concluding remarks respecting the date of the charter, writes :

"We must suppose, therefore, that the charter of Edward was executed two years after the dedication, and that the attestations are those of the persons who witnessed the execution ; that the Waltham scribe knew by the tradition of the house that Kinsi was the consecrator, and not remembering the inconsistency of the dates, copied the names of the witnesses from the charter, on the idea that they were present at the ceremony ; and that thus, with the single exception of this mistake, both accounts are genuine and consistent."*

We present a transcript of the great charter of Waltham (Cott. MSS., Tib. C. ix., f. 40): †

"In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus Deus in Trinitate ab omnibus se colentibus veneratur et puro cordis affectu adoratur. *Ego Edwardus* Dei dono Anglorum rex in hujus mundi decursu, hujus

* Archæological Transactions, vol. ii., p. 60.

† See Mr Stubbs' tract, The Foundation of Waltham, app. ii., p. 46.

seculi filiorum qui justī inveniuntur studens exaltare cornu, ut portæ regalis imperii, jure rite roborati, accedant ad eum per callem justitiæ qui dat petentibus juste et religiose vivere. Hæc tamen beata commutatio digne censetur in hoc seculo, ut cui felicitas tantum deliberaverit, animi quod mundialium cupiditatum postposita, velut granum frumenti a spinis suffocantibus aliquando vero dumetis arescentibus, decipiat, in hunc tenorem emergi ut divina virtute firmatus vigeat suo Creatori et Domino. Istas etenim inter transitorias mundi procellas cuidam meorum comitum onomate Haroldo quandam terram quæ antiquitus ab incolis illius loci nuncupatur Waltham, *hereditario jure concessi* cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus campis pascuis pratis silvis et aquis. Exhinc sibi tantam Deus suæ pietatis gratiam contulit ut inter momentanea mundi desideria cogitaret feliciter desiderando celestia. Quinetiam ille, qui omnia in omnibus operatur ut vult talem divinæ pietatis dulcedinem ut suprammemoravi, concessit ei ut non solum Dei cultor efficiatur verum etiam canonicæ regulæ strenuus institutor fieri credatur; nam hæc divinitus fidei declaratione et operum exhibitione ceterarumque æcclesiarum rerum plenitudine probavit eventus. Quis autem finis ejus desiderii post hæc evenerit sapientia per Salomonem declarando prompsit, dum ait justis dabitur desiderium bonum. Enimvero rationali consilio ditatus ac suæ non immemor conditionis in prescripto loco monasterium ad laudem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et sanctæ crucis construxit. Primum concedens ei terram quæ vocatur Northlande unde æcclesiam villæ antiquitus dotatam invenit post fundatum dehinc sacræ fidei monasterium, ad normam sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ dedicari fecit, honorifice ob memoriam mei et conjugis meæ nomine Eadithæ patris ac matris pro se, suisque omnibus vivis et defunctis sibi consanguinitate conjunctis. Hoc enim per plurimis sanctorum apostolorum martyrum, confessorum virginum reliquiis ornavit. Hoc non solum terris quarum vocabula post hæc sunt recitanda, verum etiam libris evangelicis, vestibus ac diversis ornamentorum generibus templo Domini congruentibus qui divinis cultibus clare ac dulcedine imbutus attentius, sanctæ celebrationis templum excolere cæpit ac venerari. Quid plura? Suæ denique conditionis non immemor ibidem quorundam catervulam fratrum secundum auctoritatem sanctorum patrum, canonicæ regulæ subjectam, constituit quæ Deo et sanctis ejus, die noctuque laudes hymnizando, decantet. Hæc sunt vocabula prædiorum ad præfatum pertinentia monasterium.

"*Passefelda*, cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus campis pascuis, pratis silvis et aquis.

Walde.

Vpminster.

Wahlfare.

Tippedene.

Alwartune.

Wodeforda.

Lambehide.

Nesingan.

Brikendune.

Meluh, cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus.

Atricheseia.

Wrmeleia.

Nethleswelle.

Hicche, cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, campis, pascuis, pratis silvis et aquis.

Lukintone,

West Waltham.

} cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus,

"Has omnes supradictas terras *Ego Edwardus Rex* pro redimendis peccatis meis et antecessorum sive etiam successorum meorum consilio archiepiscoporum et episcoporum necnon et principum terræ meæ ecclesiæ sanctæ crucis et fratribus ibidem in Dei nomine congregatis, sive congregandis, *concedo*, cum sacha et soche sol et team, et infangenethof, et flemenens fyrthe, et gridbreche, forstal, hamsokne, blodwite, odel, et oreste. Si vero aliquis successorum meorum quod absit de terris istis quicquam subtraxerit vel subtrahi permiserit et inde requisitus, emendare noluerit, ei Deus justus, iudex, regnum pariter et coronam auferat. Nos autem, archiepiscopi, et episcopi ad hanc confirmationem congregati ex precepto Domini Regis ejusdem hortatu excommunicamus et maledictione perpetua, condemnamus omnes transgressores hujus consularis donationis et regularis concessionis [*Here follow the land boundaries of the church*].

"*Ego Edwardus* natu divino Rex, omnia prædia quæ Haroldus comes monasterio apud Waltham subjecit vel quæ adhuc se daturum decernit, *sublevans statuo* ut ab omni servitutis jugo sint semper libera et a shiris et hundredis et extra curiam sanctæ crucis omnibus

placitis et omnibus geldis. Scriptum est autem istud privilegium anno Dominicæ Incarnationis M.LXII.

"Indictionibus ter quinis epactis septenis, concurrente I. Hiis testibus consentientibus. Ego Edwardus Anglorum Basileus hac inscriptione ✠ Salutiferæ crucis deliberando assigno. ✠ Ego Eadgytha Dei munere Christi Regina hæc eadem confirmando testimonium do. Ego Stigandus Dorobernensis archipresul hæc eadem affirmo :

Ego, EALDREDUS, Eboracensis archiepisc., hæc consolido.

Ego, ALFWOLDUS, episc., ad hæc testimonium perhibeo.

Ego, HERMANNUS, episc., testimonium exhibeo.

Ego, LEOFRICCUS, episc., testimonium adhibeo.

Ego, WILLIELMUS, episcopus, hæc affirmo.

Ego, AILMARUS, episc., hæc consolido.

Ego, LEFWINUS, episc., testimonium perhibeo.

Ego, WLFWINUS, epis., hæc eadem confirmo.

Ego, AELWINUS, episc., testimonium exhibeo.

Ego, AFRICUS, episc., hæc affirmo.

Ego, WALTERUS, episc., hæc eadem corroboro.

Ego, GYSO, episc., hæc omnia præscripta confirmo.

Ego, ÆGELNOTHUS, Abbas.

Ego, ÆLPHWINUS, Abbas.

Ego, WLLFRICUS, Abbas.

Ego, LEOFRICUS, Abbas.

Ego, LEOFSTANUS, Abbas.

Ego, ÆLWIG, Abbas.

Ego, HORDRICUS, Abbas.

Ego, ÆGELSINUS, Abbas.

Ego, LEOFSTANUS, Abbas.

Ego, EADMUNDUS, Abbas.

Ego, SICHTRICUS, Abbas.

Ego, HAROLDUS, comes operando consolido.

Ego, ÆLFGARUS, comes.

Ego, TOSTINUS, comes.

Ego, LEOFWINUS, comes.

Ego, GYRTH, comes.

Ego, ESGARUS, regiæ procurator aulæ.

Ego, ROBERTUS, regis consanguineus.

Ego, RADULPHUS, regis aulicus.

Ego, BUNDINUS, regis palatinus.

Ego, HESBERNUS, regis consanguineus.

Ego, REGENBALDUS, regis cancellarius.

Ego, PETRUS, regis capellanus.

Ego, BALDEWINUS, regis capellanus.

Ego, BRIHTRICUS, princeps.

Ego, ÆLFSTANUS, princeps.

Ego, WIGODUS, regis pincerna.

Ego, HERDINGUS, regiæ pincerna.

Ego, ADZURUS, regis dapifer.

Ego, YFINGUS, regis dapifer.

Ego, GODWINUS, regis dapifer.

Ego, DODDO, princeps.

Ego, ALFGARUS, princeps.

Ego, BRIXINUS, princeps.

Ego, EGELNOTHUS, princeps.

Ego, ESBERNUS, princeps.
 Ego, ÆDWIG, princeps.
 Ego, ÆDRICUS, princeps.
 Ego, ÆGELMUNDUS, princeps.
 Ego, SIWARDUS, princeps.

Ego, ALWOLDUS, princeps.
 Ego, ÆLPHIG, princeps.
 Hæc ego subscripsi Swithar sub-
 nomine Christi. ✚

It is questionable whether all the persons whose names appear in the transcript were present at the dedication under the style in which they appear here, as Walterus et Giso, Bishops of Cirencester, were not consecrated until 1061 (see "De Inventionem"). The charter is subscribed by thirteen bishops, all that were in this country at that time. There is, however, a little perplexity in the signatures, arising from the non-appearance of the name of "Siward of Rochester," while that of Ælfwold—probably of Sherborne—is given, and he died in 1058, two years before the consecration of the church. We recognise the names of eleven abbots, and prominent among them is the Glastonbury abbot, Æthelnoth, with the abbots of Peterborough, Abingdon, and Ramsey. These are followed by five earls, chief of whom is Harold, whose signature appears under the following form, "Ego Haroldus comes operando consolido," accompanied by those of Ælfgar, Tostig, Leofwine, and Gyrth, who played a conspicuous part in the wars that preceded the Norman Conquest. After these are the signatures of twenty-six thanes and officers of the king's court, the lowest of which bears the title of "princeps," and there are other notable characters whose names are embalmed with those of other Norman officials in "Doomsday Book."

Much general interest is associated with the lives of the witnesses of this great charter. A brief outline of them may not be inappropriate :

EADWARD AND EADGYDA.

One of the most prominent characters in the charter is Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred II.,* by Emma, his

* Born 968; began to reign 978; *ob.* 23d April 1016. Married (1.) Ælflæd, daughter of Thored; (2.) Emma or Ælfgifu, daughter of Richard I., Duke of Normandy, *ob.* March 1052 (Lappenberg, vol. ii., p. 369).

second queen. His reign, which commenced A.D. 1042, was tranquil and prosperous. After the death of Hardicanute on June 8th of this year, we are told that "before he was buried all the people chose Eadward king in London." The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" * informs us further, *i.e.*, "An. M.XLIII.—In this year Eadward was hallowed king at Winchester, on the first Easter Day, with great worship; and then was Easter on the iiird of the Nones of April (April 3d). Archbishop Eadsige hallowed him. . . . And Stigand the priest was blessed bishop of East Angles.† And shortly after the king caused all the lands which his mother possessed to be seized into his hand; and took from her all that she possessed in gold, and in silver, and in unspeakable things, because she had before held it too strictly towards him. And soon after Stigand was deposed from his bishopric, and all that he owned was seized into the king's hand; because he was closest in his mother's counsel, and she went as he advised her, as it was supposed." Eadward was forty years of age when he married Eadgyth, the eldest daughter of Godwine, Earl of Kent,‡ who died in the December of 1074; they were married on the 23d January 1045. After the death of Edward she was allowed by William the Conqueror to retain her jointure city of Winchester and other landed possessions. Her name appears in the charter; she is described as being no less highly gifted among women than her brothers were among men, as being lovely in person and adorned with every female accomplishment, and as endowed with a learning and refinement unusual in her age; altogether she was considered a fitting helpmeet for Edward himself. But there are strange inconsistencies in the facts which are recorded of her. She is said to have sat at her husband's feet until he

* Thorpe, vol. ii., p. 133.

† "Of Elmham."

‡ King Edward, says Fuller, was "absolutely father-in-law-ridden. This Godwin, like those sands in Kent which bear his name, never spared what he could spoil, but swallowed all which came within his compass to devour." Edward did a great public good in remitting the Danegelt Tax, and in sweeping away other oppressive measures imposed upon the country by previous rulers.

lifted her up to sit at his side.* Nearly a century after King Edgar had repaired Westminster Abbey and endowed it with lands, etc., Edward the Confessor raised the structure to the consequence which it has since maintained. The king fixed upon the abbey as his place of interment. He devoted to the work of restoration a tenth part of his possessions in gold, silver, and cattle. The abbey was completed in 1065. The king was not well enough to be at the dedication which took place on the 28th of December, for on Christmas he was taken ill, and he died on the 5th of January. On the 12th of the same month his body was interred with great pomp before the high altar, in what is called the Chapel of St Edward.

This marriage of Edward with Eadgyda brings us into close proximity with Harold; thus, Eadgyth (Editha), queen of Edward, was the sister of Harold. Hence we have it:

Godwin, Earl of Kent,=(1.) Thyra, sister of Canute.
1053. (2.) Girtha, dau. of Ulpho.

Tosta or Tosti, Earl of North- umberland, 1066. Judith, dau. of Bald- win, 5 C. of Flanders.	Ulnoth.	Gurth.	Leofwin.	Elfgar.	Gythus.	Harold II.=	Agatha, dau. of Algar, Earl of Mercia.	Sweyn, Earl of Glouc. married Edward the Con- fessor.	Editha, 1074.
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ARCHBISHOP STIGAND.

Stigand, whose name is given in the charter, was chaplain to King Edward, and Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been King Harold's chaplain, and Bishop of Sherborne, from thence he was translated to Winchester, which he kept together with the archbishopric of Canterbury with the king's consent. He was guilty of what was deemed a flagrant irregularity, in making use of his predecessor's *pall*, which was contrary to the canon; and he was afterwards guilty of one still greater, in receiving his own *pall* from Pope Benedict, whom the Church of Rome had excommunicated. As soon as the Conqueror was seated on the throne, Stigand was deposed by him; and so fearful was he of this prelate's disposition towards him, that when he returned into Normandy

* Freeman's Hist. Nor. Conq., 1870, vol. ii., p. 45.

in 1067, he took Stigand with him, among others. This archbishop was first formally suspended by the papal interdict, and at last in the octaves of Easter, *anno* 1070, degraded and deprived of the archbishopric, with the pope's consent, by his legate and two presbyter cardinals, for the above-mentioned causes; after which he was put into prison, where he died, and was buried at Winchester. Here his remains rested till the fourteenth century, when Bishop Fox built two walls in the church dividing the presbytery from the side aisle; on one of which he placed the leaden chest containing the bones of this prelate. The inscription thereon was, "Hic jacet Stygandus Archiepiscopus." In 1642 this chest was again disturbed and broken into by Colonel Sandys and his forces, who employed the bones in breaking the painted glass windows of the abbey. The bones were again collected and enclosed with a chest, and placed upon the same wall in 1661.*

ARCHBISHOP EALDRED.

Following the names as they appear in the MS., we shall next notice Ealdred (or "Ealdeo"), whose first appearance is that of Abbot of Tavistock. This famous man succeeded Lyfing as Bishop of Worcester in 1046. His early career had led him through almost the same stages as that of his predecessor. "Like him he had been a monk at Winchester, like him he had been thence called to the government of one of the great monasteries of the west." He was a man of great ability, and exhibited, like Harold, a better form of the increasing connection between England and the Continent. As an ambassador at the imperial court, as a pilgrim at Rome and Jerusalem, he probably saw more of the world than any contemporary Englishman. He was renowned as a peacemaker, one who could reconcile the bitterest enemies. But, in common with many other prelates of his time, he did not escape the charge of simony. Ealdred did not scruple to bear arms both in domestic and in foreign warfare; but his campaigns

* See Hasted's *Hist. Kent*, vol. iv., p. 689.

were, to say the least, not specially glorious. His most enduring title to remembrance is, that it fell to his lot to place, within a single year, the crown of England on the brow, first, of Harold, and then of William, and to die of sorrow at the sight of his church and city brought to ruin by the mutual contentions of Normans, Englishmen, and Danes.*

In 1050 Ealdred assisted in repelling an invasion from Ireland. Six years after we find him in arms with Harold against the Welsh. In 1060 he succeeded to the archbishopric of York. In 1067 he crowned Matilda at Westminster, and in 1069 he died and was buried at his episcopal see, after he had held the archiepiscopal chair with great dignity for ten years.

BISHOP ÆLFWOLD.

Ælfwold (or Alfwold) was Bishop of Sherborne (at least he is identified as such by Freeman,† who says he died in 1058, two years before the foundation of Waltham). He was famous for his temperance and frugality in a luxurious age. Knighton says he was a monk of Winton in the time of Edward the Confessor.‡ Malmesbury relates the dreadful effects of his curse denounced against Earl Godwin, with whom he had a dispute; and his extraordinary affection to St Cuthbert, whose shrines he visited.

BISHOP HEREMANN

was chaplain to Edward the Confessor in 1045, when he succeeded Brithwold, or Æthelwin, at Wilton. On a vacancy in the Abbey of Malmesbury, he petitioned King Edward to have this transferred thither. This the king readily granted, but Earl Godwin and the monks got it reversed. Upon this disappointment, Heremann (or Herman) retired into France, and became a monk at Bertin (1055), where he stayed three years; but on the death of Athelwold (or Athelwin), Bishop of Sherborne, he returned home and was made bishop of

* Norman Conquest (Freeman), vol. ii., p. 86.

† *Vide* Norman Conquest.

‡ Hist. Devon. (Hutchin), vol. iv., p. 91.

that see in 1058. He afterwards went to Jerusalem. In 1071 he assisted in the consecration of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury; he died in 1074. The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" * records that he died "an. M.LXXVIII.," and that he was Bishop of Berkshire, and of Wiltshire, and of Dorsetshire. He was believed to have been a native of Flanders or Lorraine. Mr Freeman calls him "Hermann of Lotharingia."

BISHOP LEOFRIC.

Leofric or Lewric, the last Bishop of Crediton, signed the charter as bishop. He obtained from King Edward the Confessor permission to transfer the seat of his diocese to Exeter, A.D. 1050. This prelate is said to have been by birth a Burgundian. King Edward the Confessor and his queen are stated to have enthroned Leofric in person in his new cathedral. William of Malmesbury is minute upon the subject of the change which Leofric made when he ejected the monks, and substituted secular canons here. Leofric died on the 10th February 1073, and was buried, according to Hooker and Godwin, in the cemetery of his church under a plain stone.†

BISHOP WILLS,

or William of London, according to Mr Stubbs.‡ Newcourt states that he was a Norman chaplain to King Edward the Confessor, and was consecrated Bishop of London A.D. 1051, in the month of September. He is in other places called "William Primus," and is said to have died *circa* 1067.§ For several centuries the Londoners made an annual pilgrimage to the tomb of this bishop in the nave of St Paul's. His epitaph bore witness to their great reverence. In the seventeenth century (A.D. 1622), the Lord Mayor, Edward Barkham, caused these quaint lines to be inscribed on the tomb of Bishop William :

"Walkers, whosoe'er ye be,
If it prove you chance to see

* Thorpe.

‡ Invent. S. C. W., p. 19.

† Monasticon, vol. ii., p. 514.

§ Repertorium, vol. i., p. 11.

Upon a solemn scarlet day,
The City Senate pass this way,
Their grateful memory for to shew,
Which they the reverent ashes owe
Of Bishop Norman here inhumed;
By whom this city has assumed
Large priviledges: those obtain'd
By him when Conqueror William reign'd.
This being by Barkham's thankful mind renew'd,
Call it the monument of gratitude."

This monkish procession continued annually until the accession of Queen Elizabeth.*

BISHOP AILMARUS.

Ailmar or Almar, who was brother to Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was Bishop of Elmham, county Norfolk, in the time of the Confessor. The principal of the lordship of Boyton, in this county, was purchased by him, the whole of which was then valued at £6. On his deposition in 1070, it was granted by the Conqueror to William, his chaplain and the Bishop of Thetford.† Little else is known of this prelate, other than that he had been Abbot of Coventry.

BISHOP LEFWINUS.

He is generally called Leofwin of Lichfield, consecrated to this see A.D. 1053. The "Saxon Chronicle" informs us that "Leofwine and Wulfwi went over sea, and there caused themselves to be ordained bishops." He died in 1066.

BISHOP WLFWINUS.

Mr Stubbs classifies Wulfwin (or Wlfwinus) as Bishop of Dorchester. It is hard to identify this person with Wulfwig, who was Bishop of Dorchester, and died a year after the Norman Conquest. He was probably the Wulfwin who was Harold's chaplain, and appointed by him as the first Dean of Waltham.‡

* Annals of St Paul's (Milman), p. 16. † Bloomfield's Hist. Norfolk, vol. v.

‡ See list of deans, etc.

BISHOP AELWINUS,

or Ælwin of Durham.*

BISHOP AFRICUS,

or Æfric of Selsey.† Mr Freeman states that "Æthelric, Bishop of the South Saxons, appears under the corrupted form of 'Æfricus.'"

BISHOP WALTER.

Walter, a Lotharingian by birth, was chaplain to the Lady Eadgyth. He was collated to the bishopric of Hereford, A.D. 1060, and died *circa* 1079.‡

BISHOP GYSO.

Both Walter and Giso (or Gisa) were Lotharingian bishops. They both survived the Conquest, and the latter survived the Conqueror himself. There is nothing to convict either of them of treason to England; but Gisa at least does not seem very warm in his patriotism for his adopted country. He is quite ready to forgive William for the conquest of England in consideration of the help which he gave him in his reformation of the church of Wells. Walter, on the other hand, is represented in some accounts as taking a prominent part in resistance to the Conqueror. Both Walter and Gisa kept their sees till death. Walter, we are told, came to a sad and shameful end. Gisa lived and died in honour, and his life occupies a prominent place in the "History of the Church of Wells." Giso of Wells and Walter of Hereford were consecrated at Rome by P. Nicholas II. Giso died A.D. 1088. Mr Freeman has given the dispute between Giso and Harold *in extenso*.§

The bishops are followed on the list by the abbots.

ABBOT ÆGELNOPHUS.

Ægelnoth, Egelnoth, or Ailnothus, was the last Saxon

* De Invent. S. C. W., p. 19 (Stubbs).

† *Ib.*

‡ See *infra*.

§ See Hist. Nor. Conq., vol. ii., p. 446.

Abbot of Glastonbury, county Somerset, and, according to the "Saxon Chronicle," was deposed in A.D. 1077. He was considered one of the principal men in the nation at the time of the Conquest, for which reason the Conqueror carried him to Normandy, together with the principal nobility and gentry, being jealous of his power and influence. He was then deprived of his abbacy.*

ABBOT ÆLPHWINUS.

I imagine that this person was no other than Ælfwine, Abbot of Ramsey, who, according to the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," was sent to the synod at Rheims in 1046. There was an ecclesiastic of the same name who died in his bishopric in the following year. Mr Stubbs states that he was Abbot "of Hyde."

ABBOT WLFFRICUS.

Stevens† calls him Wilfrick, and states that he was consecrated Abbot of Ely in 1044. The Register of Ely shows that "he died for grief soon after he had alienated the lands of the monastery." That was in 1066, after he had ruled twenty-two years.

ABBOT LEOFFRICUS.

Leofric succeeded Arnwig as Abbot of Peterborough, and was nephew of his namesake, the earl. He was also "a man of high birth, and of high spirit." He greatly enriched the monastery with lands and other valuables, and won for it the favour of the king and all the great men of the land. He ruled that great house thirteen years—from 1053 to 1066.

ABBOT LEOFSTANUS

was surnamed "Plumstan." His name is found among the Abbots of St Albans, he being the twelfth abbot of that celebrated monastery. King Edward and his queen Editha found in Leofstan a "friend, counsellor, and confessor." By

* Phelps' Hist. Somerset, vol. i., p. 527.

† Hist. of Mon., vol. i., p. 392.

means of his great interest at court, he obtained for his monastery, by grant of Oswulth and his wife Adilitha, the farm of Studham; and from Egelwine, and his wife Winefled, the farms of Redburn, Langley Grenebury, and Thwangton.* I presume that he died about the time of the Norman Conquest, as Frederic, the thirteenth abbot, succeeded him in the abbacy of St Albans in 1066.

ABBOT ÆLWIG.

Ælwig, according to Professor Stubbs, was Abbot of Evesham. I take him to be the same as is mentioned by Dugdale (vol. ii., p. 3), who states that "on King Edward's death he became a favourite with Harold, and was afterwards much esteemed by the Conqueror, by whom he was entrusted with the care of the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, Oxford, Warwick, Hereford, Stafford, and Salop. He died on the 14th of the kalends of March A.D. 1077."

ABBOT HORDORICUS.

He is sometimes called "Ordric," "Odricus," "Ordricus," or "Hordricus," as in Cott. MSS., Tib. C. ix. He appears as Monk of Abingdon, to which office he was elected in 1052, and which he held till 1065.

ABBOT ÆGELSINUS

was made Abbot of St Augustine's in 1063 by Pope Alexander II. This abbot is famous in history as being at the head of the Norman army, with Stigand and William the Conqueror, when they came out against the Kentish leaders, at a place called "Swanescombe." They took the duke by surprise, when, like a vast forest, they moved towards him, armed with green boughs, but also furnished with bows and swords, and other weapons, which they concealed. "The duke," says a writer, "was amazed, and in consternation to behold all the country round about him like a moving wood." Finding himself in a difficulty, he speedily

* Clutterbuck's Hist. Herts, vol. i., p. 12.

granted the people of Kent what they requested. The agreement being signed, and hostages given on both sides, the joyful Kentish men conducted the Normans to Rochester, and there delivered to the duke the county of Kent, with the noble castle of Dover.*

ABBOT LEFSTANUS

was a monk of Hulm. He accompanied Uvius to Bury St Edmund's, and succeeded him in the abbacy, which he held till August A.D. 1065, when he died.†

ABBOT ÆDMUND.

Edmund was the fifth Abbot of Pershore, in Worcestershire, "a person of singular probity, and much respected." His death occurred July 1085.

ABBOT SICHTRICUS

is the last-mentioned abbot on the charter. He occurs as a witness in 1050 to the charter of King Edward, in virtue of which the bishoprics of Cornwall and Devon became united to Exeter. He died on the 8th of the ides of April 1082.

The abbots are followed on the list by the earls.

EARL ÆLFGAR.

The third earldom of East Anglia, held at one time by Harold, was bestowed on Ælfgar, the son of Leofric. This occurred *circa* 1053.‡ The earldom was soon afterward restored to Harold. The restoration of Harold implied the deposition of Ælfgar, whose last recorded acts are the peaceful ones of recommending Wulfstan for the bishopric of Worcester, and of signing the Waltham charter.§

EARL TOSTIN.

Tostin, or Tostig, was the third son of Earl Godwine, and

* Steven's Hist. Mon., vol. i., p. 314.

† Yates' Hist. of St Edmund's Bury, p. 208.

‡ Saxon Chron., p. 155.

§ Norman Conq. (Freeman), vol. ii., p. 337.

brother to King Harold. He married Judith, sister of Baldwin of Flanders, and was appointed Earl of the Northumbrians on the death of Siward. But in 1065 he was expelled from his earldom by the Northumbrian thanes. He then went to Flanders for refuge.* "The banished earl crossed over to Baldwin's land, the land of his wife's brother. Under his protection he passed the whole of the winter at St Omer" (1065-66). The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" states that he invaded England, and was repulsed by "Eadwine" and "Morkere," and was slain at Stamford Bridge in 1066.

EARL LEFWIN.

Leofwin, the fifth son of Godwine, and brother to Tostig, sailed with Harold to Bristol, which was a town in Swegen's earldom, then almost unknown to fame. They then went on board Swegen's ship, which speedily carried them to Ireland, where they were favourably received by "Dermot or Diarmid Mac Mael-nambo, King of Dublin and Leinster." Although the two brothers Leofwin and Harold had to seek refuge in Ireland as outlaws, yet they found no place of rest there, consequently they soon returned to England. When Leofwin became earl, his land extended over parts of "Kent, Essex, Middlesex, Hertford, Surrey, and probably Buckinghamshire, that is, of the shires round the mouth of the Thames." This is the chief part of his history.

EARL GYRTH.

Gyrth or Gurth, another brother of Harold, was the fourth son of Earl Godwine. The East Anglian earldom, vacated by the translation of Ælfgar to Mercia, was now conferred on Gyrth (1057-58). In 1061 Gyrth, Tostig, and Ealdred, with several noble thanes from Northumberland, went on a pilgrimage to Rome. Gyrth appears as "Eorl" in the Chronicles and "Comes" in Domesday.

The stallers follow next in the charter :

* See an account of Tostig's banishment in Domesday Book, ii. 2006.

ESGARUS.

Esegar, is noted by Kemble (C.D. 872) as being *stallere* as early as 1044—two years, that is, after his grandfather's marriage. He was evidently the son of Æthelstan, and grandson of Tofig.* He appears as "*regiæ procurator aulæ*," *i.e.*, dapifer in the charter of Waltham, and as staller down to the Conquest. There were several *stalleres* at one time (A.D. 822). Esegar was a great landholder in the time of King Edward.† "Among inferior dignitaries we are glad," says Mr Freeman, "to recognise Esegar, the descendant of the former lord of the place, who must have looked on the ceremony with mingled feelings."‡ He is termed the "procurator of the royal palace."

RODBERTUS.

Nothing is recorded of him beyond what is stated in the charter—"Rodbertus regis consanguineus." He is followed by the king's kinsmen and courtiers.

RADULPHUS.

BUNDINUS,

"or Bondig, the staller." He signs the charter as "*regis palatinus*," the king's courtier.

HESBERNUS

signs as Rodbertus—"regis consanguineus," the king's kinsman.

REGENBALDUS

signs as "*regis cancellarius*." Mr Stubbs styles him "Rembald the Chancellor, Dean of Cirencester." This person is probably identical with Rumbald the chancellor, who lies buried in the body of Cirencester church. An inscription upon his gravestone states that "Rumbald the chancellor lies

* See Hist. Nor. Conq., vol. i., p. 556.

† De Inv. S. C. W., p. 13.

‡ Trans. Essex Arch. Soc., vol. ii., p. 10.

buried there.* Regembaldus, or "Reimbaldus," succeeded Leofric as chancellor. He sealed with the royal seal, as we find by another charter of the Confessor to the church of Westminster thus authenticated.†

PETRUS, REGIS CAPELLANUS.

The king's chaplain.

BALDEWIN, REGIS CAPELLANUS.

Another of the king's chaplains. "This name," says Mr Freeman, "though not unknown in Normandy, is much more characteristically Flemish; and Baldwin was appointed during the time of Harold's greatest ascendancy." He is considered to have been Abbot of St Eadmund's. A Lotharingian prelate of the same name, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, died A.D. 1098. His daughter or niece married Tostig, brother of Harold.‡

BITHRICUS, PRINCEPS.

He is called Brihtric, an ealdorman. He was no doubt a "prince." He may have been the Gloucestershire thane "around whose name a legend has grown in connection with Matilda of Flanders."

ÆLFSTAN, PRINCEPS.—Another ealdorman, or prince.

WIGODUS, REGIS PINCERNA.—One of the king's cup-bearers or stewards.

HERDING, REGINE PINCERNA.—The queen's steward or butler.

ADZUR, REGIS DAPIFER.—Adzur, or Adzurus, is believed to be the same man as appears in Domesday (Berkshire), and who seems to have kept part of his lands as an under-tenant at the time of the survey. He signs the charter as a steward, or the king's sewer.

YFING, REGIS DAPIFER.—He is called Yfingus, one of the king's stewards or sewers.

* Atkyns' Hist. Gloucestershire, p. 180.

† Campbell, Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. i., p. 36. ‡ De Inv. S. C.

GODWIN, REGINE DAPIFER.—The queen's steward or sewer.

DODDO, PRINCEPS.—The prince.

ALFGAR, PRINCEPS.—The prince.

BIXIN, PRINCEPS.—The prince.

EGELNOF, PRINCEPS.—Or Ægelnoth. The prince.

ESBEN, PRINCEPS.—Or Esbern. The prince.

EADWIG, PRINCEPS.—The prince.

EDRIC, PRINCEPS.—The prince (or "Eadric the Wild"). He held lands in Hereford and Shropshire (1067-69), and refused submission to William of Normandy, which independence he maintained to the last. The impression which he made on the Normans is shown by the surname of the Wild or Savage which he bore among them. Among the hills and woods of the border land Eadric and his British allies could maintain themselves as easily against the Norman chivalry as Gruffydd had done against the English house earls, till the genius of Harold found out the way to bring the restless enemy to submission.*

ÆGELMUND, PRINCEPS.—The prince.

SIWARD, PRINCEPS.—The prince.

ALWOLD, PRINCEPS.—The prince.

ÆLPHIG, PRINCEPS.—The prince.

This ancient manuscript (Cott. Coll., Tib. C. ix.), containing the above list of names, etc., according to the note on the last folio, belonged to the Hill family after the dissolution of Waltham monastery. "George Hilles Boocke" (no date), and "Thomas Hill his Boocke, 1615," appear with a name written in an earlier hand, but almost erased, the date is plain enough—1579. The first part of the manuscript on "Vita Ricardi II. per Monach. Evesham et Libertates Eccl. ch. Cant." is less ancient than that on "Registrum Monasterii S. Crucis de Waltham," commencing at folio 48. Folio 233 is the "Rent Roll," given in the "Monasticon."

* See Hist. Nor. Conq., vol. iv., p. 110.

THE RENT ROLL OF THE ABBEY OF WALTHAM AT ARLESEY,
COUNTY BEDFORD.*Firma De Alricheseie.*

Wills. Hoye, vs.	Hugo Ac, . xviii <i>d.</i> , iii <i>d.</i> iii <i>q</i> a.
Milo f. Mauricii, vs.	Mylo cocus, xii <i>d.</i>
Walt. f. Warini, iiis. viii <i>d.</i>	Humfrid., novus homo, viii <i>d.</i>
Wills. f. Warini, x <i>d.</i>	Wills. f. Pagani, x <i>d.</i>
Rob. de Winneshal., xxvii <i>d.</i> ob.	Wills. sutor, xviii <i>d.</i>
Henr. Ruf., x <i>d.</i>	Wybrt., xiii <i>d.</i>
Joel, viiis.	Hetekil, vis. iii <i>d.</i>
Wills. Gerard, xviiiis.	Wills. bereng., x <i>d.</i>
Rob. f. Jacob, ijs. vi <i>d.</i> , it. iii <i>d.</i>	Rob. de Dene, iii <i>d.</i> iii <i>q</i> a.
Ric. Serman, iiis. vi <i>d.</i>	Rob. de crute, iiis.
Nich. f. pagani, iiis.	Wills. prepositus, iiis. vi <i>d.</i>
Wills. f. Hugon., iiis. vi <i>d.</i>	Halibretl, iiis.
Wills. f. Turberti, iiis.	Wills. siward, iiis. vi <i>d.</i>
Rob. blundus, xvi <i>d.</i>	Walt. de ecclia, iis. iii <i>ob.</i>
Marsilia, xvi <i>d.</i>	Anselmus, iiis.
Editha iustise, viii <i>d.</i>	Margia, iis. vi <i>d.</i>
Acelina hereward, viii <i>d.</i>	Matildis Kucke, xii <i>d.</i>
Cecilia, iis.	Rob. f. bugo, x <i>d.</i>
Willus. henat, iis.	Andr. fab., viii <i>d.</i>
Rob. f. Walt, iii <i>d.</i> iii <i>q</i> a.	Turkil de pont, iiis. ii <i>d.</i> ob.
Rog. cnuht, iii <i>d.</i> iii <i>q</i> a.	Galfridus textor, vi <i>d.</i>
Petrus algar, iiis. x <i>d.</i> , iii <i>d.</i> iii <i>q</i> a.	Isabel vidua, x <i>d.</i>
Warinus kaps, iiis.	Ric. de Luk., x <i>d.</i>
Rob. f. turkil, iis. vi <i>d.</i>	Mtinus. Gilbt. Kael, x <i>d.</i>
Petrus lefmar, xviiiis.	Aliz de Rankedich, iiis. ii <i>d.</i>
Laur. f. Rob., iis.	Rob. filius Ade, viis.
Rog. Haddi, iiis.	Summa, viij. Lib., vs., viij <i>d.</i> q <i>a.</i>

From the Compotus Ministrorum, 32 Hen. VIII.

Alrychsey—Firma manerii, £35 6 8
Perquisita curiæ, 3 13 0

The next manuscript for consideration is No. 3776, Harleian Collection. This choice volume once adorned the old Waltham library, and is described by Professor Stubbs as being made some years later than the Cottonian MS. which con-

tains "De Inventione Sanctæ Crucis." It was the work of a scribe belonging to the abbey, who has interspersed the text with a few lines of original poetry "of infinitesimal value."

The following, written in English, I have discovered (folio 39):

"Swete ihu my swete leman : Stedefast loue thou keddest man,
tho that blod fram thine bodi ran : so that tou bicom al wan.
Swete ihu thou art ful god : for tho thou us boustes onetherod.
Ne schaddest thou naust alitel blod : Ac fra the hit ran as aflod,
Ne seston man hou i loue the : bidde ich the thou do so me,
Ici ye rode ich am for the thou that senegest let for me."

The manuscript contains two tracts which illustrate the early history of the abbey. The first is entitled, "Vita et Miracula Haroldi quondam Regis Angliæ." This tract, says Mr Stubbs, is a curious but entirely untrustworthy legend, written apparently to prove that the great King Harold was not buried at Waltham. The other tract, commencing at folio 25, is entitled "De Inventione Crucis de Waltham." They are both written in the hand of the twelfth century. The first tract ending at folio 24 is incomplete. It is supposed to have been written by one of the ejected canons, *temp.* Henry II. At folio 63 is another tract of a still later date, which formerly belonged to Sir William Bowyer (1565). At the end of the volume is an old calendar belonging to John Pim, servant to Mr George Chamberlain. This calendar, as also the "Vita et Miracula Haroldi," is beautifully written with many grotesque capitals, etc.

The Harleian manuscript 3766 bears the following title : "Codicis Rubei Abbatiae de Waltham Fragmenta Varia." This MS. contains, "Pars Libri cui titulus Liber Niger qui fuit inventus cum Cruce magna de Waltham S. Crucis ; et agit praecipue de virtutibus Crucis et miraculis." The whole of the book is written on vellum of the twelfth century, and contains 116 folios. The tract entitled "De Inventione See. Crucis," commences at folio 49. Folio 25 has suffered much from damp ; in other respects it is a very good copy. A great deal of gilt has been lavished on the covers by the binder of a later period. Probably both volumes (3776-3766)

were originally bound together. The date, 30 die Januarii 1721-2, on the first folio, is in the hand of some late owner of the book. The Cottonian MS., Claud. D. II., is a most splendid manuscript. Its illuminations are of a very superior character. Folio 114*b* contains a transcript of the foundation charter of Waltham, which occupies only about five and a quarter columns—most likely it was written by a Waltham monk and once belonged to the abbey. In 1598 it belonged to Robert Cotton.

Julius D. vi. is another MS. formerly in the possession of the above-named gentleman. It contains the "*De Inventione et Miraculis S. Crucis de Waltham*," which commences at folio 75. The first part of the MS. is entitled "*Suppletio Historiæ Regum Angliæ ad ann. 1216 per John Pike*," and the part referable to Waltham was collated with and corrected by the Harleian copy 3776, both of which are no doubt copies from one original. The first of these two (Jul. D. vi.) is thought to be not much later than the date of the original composition. A transcript of this MS. is given in the "*Miscellanea Historicana Anglicana*," vol. i., fol. 1, xxxviii., Harl. MSS. 692, under this head—"De initio et fundatione Ecclesiæ de Waltham, ex antiquo Codice Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, qui inscribitur Jul. D. 6."

Harleian MS. 4809 is one of two original registers on vellum, which, I presume, were also kept in the library of the monastery of Waltham. This fine cartulary was originally divided into twenty-one sections, each containing the charter of a manor; but now it begins with the seventh, and that relating to Alricheseye is wanting. This defect will be in great measure supplied by the following charters, which are arranged according to the numbers of their monastic endorsements.* This MS. is fairly written, and consists of 194 double pages entitled "*Registrum Cartarum Abbatiae Waltham Com. Essex*." It formerly belonged to Sir William Heyward of Loughton, whose autograph appears on the front page, and was subsequently in the possession of Peter le Neve, Esq.,

* See *Collectanea*, vol. vi., p. 196; also Harl. MS. 391.

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Norroy King of Arms. The first and last page contains his name, dated respectively 1701 and 24th September 1703. This MS. appears to have been written in the fourteenth century, and records the great possessions belonging to the abbey.

Harleian MS. 391 is the other register on vellum of very early date, which was at one time in the possession of Peter le Neve, Esq., as is recorded on the flyleaf, "*Liber Petri Leneve Rouge crux Prosecutoris armos anno sedum computationem anglicanam 1698, quondam Liber Willi Hayward militis . . . Pretrum £1, 10s.*" This MS. presents us with several charters, in which Henry is designated by his brother Richard and by his mother Queen Eleanor as Henry III. These charters are in confirmation of the abbey's change of its inhabitants. A charter of the first Richard confirms its possessions to the abbey, as also one by Queen Eleanor granted by her in Richard's time. Here also is a charter from Henry acknowledged in our histories as the real Henry III. to the same monastery.* This ancient volume was purchased by James West, Esq., but whether for himself or Lord Oxford is not certain; it is thought for the latter, because in the printed catalogues of that lord's MSS., No. 391 is found "*Registrum Abb. Waltham, bought at Mr. Norroy's sale.*" In Le Neve's catalogue, printed in 1730-1, there are entries of several registers, charters, etc., of different places, among which occurs one, "*No. 138, Chartularium Abbatiae in com. Essex, written on vellum, very fair, £7, 8s.*"† This the writer has identified as being the identical book now the subject of consideration. This volume commences with a rubric expressing "*de aquæductu de Wirmele ad Waltham,*" annexed to which is the date, M.CC.XX. (1220). From the first few pages of the MS. we learn that at this early period there were artificial waters connected with the Abbey of Waltham, which extended to Cheshunt and Wormley. On folio 6 there are three foun-

* See Johannes de Oxenedes Chronica (Ellis), 1859, pp. xxi., xxii.

† Nichol's Lit. Anec. of Eighteenth Century, vol. ix., p. 421.

tains, two of which take their rise north and south. The southern fountain appears to be at Cheshunt; the northern probably at Wormley. These two fountains emptied themselves into an eastern pool, right of which is another fountain; the situation of this may have been at the nunnery of Cheshunt, which stands on the right hand leading from Wormley to Cheshunt. A main water pipe—*calamus*—connected with this pool or tank, carried the water through a bed of clay—*argilla*—in an easterly direction towards a great fish pool—*piscina*—which had two outlets or pipes. The one appears to have carried off the waste water, the other was used for washing or cleansing purposes—*cal. purg.*—etc. Another pipe leading from the fish pool was for the use of the inhabitants of Waltham.

The Abbot of Waltham, Lord of the Manor of Wormley, sent annually to the *cross* erected at Wormley west end some of his canons, who on the 3d of May and 14th of September walked in solemn procession with the parishioners singing the Litany. The place retains the name of Holy Cross. This seems to be a kind of processioning to keep their lands that join to the kingdoms of Mercia distinct from the lands of the Abbey of St Albans which were in that kingdom and contiguous to Wormley.* This Benedictine house at Cheshunt is mentioned in a bull issued by Pope Lucius III., bearing date 15 kal. Jan. 1183, among sundry other privileges which exempted the site of this house with all the lands, tenements, etc., belonging, from the payment of tithes. So that we may certainly date the foundation of the house before that year. In the 24th Henry III., 1240, the possession of the nuns of Cheshunt were augmented with lands belonging to the canons of Cathall, who appear to have been removed by the king.†

The transcript of the fountains is followed by a memorandum respecting the marshes of Waltham and Cheshunt—“Hic pmo. Orit Clanicio marisce pea. Villanos de Chesthunt,” dated anno. dom. 1200. At folio 13 is a transcript of the

* Salmon's Hist. Herts, p. 14.

† Monasticon, vol. iv., p. 328.

charter of Wormley. This manor was one of those lordships given by Harold to the church of Waltham. Upon a *Quo Warranto* taken in the sixth year of the reign of Edward I. before John de Reygate and others, the king's justices itinerant for the county of Hertford, the Abbot of Waltham claimed certain privileges in this and other manors, which were allowed. The canons continued to hold this manor until the dissolution, when it was seized by the Crown.* On the same folio (13) is a "Transcripta Cartarum de fonte uro. de Wermele." By charter Henry, son of William of Wormley, grants to the church of Waltham in pure alms one piece of land in the ward of Wormley and all his fountains. Folio 14*b*.—The charter of Richard and the cupbearer of Wormley—*Ric. de pincne. de Wermel*—grants to the same church and canons the right of the fishery in Wormley. Folio 15 is the charter of John de Stinekle, fil. Willi of Brokesburn, by which he grants to the church of Waltham in pure alms an acre of land and a fountain in Wormley. Also the charter of Alexander de Poyntun. Folio 16 is the charter of Henry de Kersebrok of Cheshunt (*i.e.*, Crossbrook), and Will fil Alwyn, a miller of Waltham. Also the charter of Thomas de Haverell and Walter de Hale, granting small donations to the church of Waltham. Folio 17 is the charter of Ricard Hok, granting the rights of commonage in "Hokesmerst" to the canons of Waltham in pure and perpetual charity. The name of Richard Hok gave rise to the name of the marsh in Waltham, "Hooksmarsh," known as such in the present day. Folio 17*b* is the charter of Nicholas the clerk, the son of Walter the forester of Waltham, by which he grants in pure alms his right without impediments in Colberdesholm, etc., to the said canons of Waltham. Folio 18 is the charter of William Portingale, by which he grants to the canons of Waltham his meadow situated at Frithey near Hokesmers, and also a conduit for washing—*vsu expurgatorum aqueductis*. Folio 23 gives the return of the clear amount of the revenue of the Abbey of Waltham, bearing date 1266.

* Clutterbuck's Hist. Herts., vol. ii., p. 233.

IN DIOC. LONDON.

De Manerio de Waltham, . . .	£16 13 4	De Passefeud, . . .	13 15 2
De Eccl. de Waltham, . . .	33 6 8	De Borham, . . .	1 0 0
De Sywardestune, . . .	13 0 0	De Stanweye, . . .	1 4 4
De Nasinge, . . .	2 8 0	De Redditu in Lond.,	13 0 0
Quia de eodem manerio solvuntur, . . .	20 0 0	De Takeleya, . . .	5 0 0
Ad firmam Dm. Reg. de Eccl., . . .	6 13 4	De Stanforde, . . .	8 0 0
De Eppinge, . . .	14 0 0	De Thorendune, . . .	9 18 0
Q. de eodem, . . .	20 0 0	De Walda, . . .	11 15 11
Ad firmam Dm. Reg. computant. de Eccl. eidem, . . .	10 0 0	De Upmenstre, . . .	7 17 0
De Stanstede, . . .	11 9 0	De Luketune, . . .	11 2 0
De Netleswell, . . .	10 0 11	De Wudeford, . . .	5 14 11
		De Wrmeleya, . . .	4 16 8
		Suma, . . .	£210 17 3
		Sa. Decimæ, £21 1 10*	

Folios 19b and 20b are a list of the holders of capital mesuages in Waltham Holy Cross, *temp.* Henry II.—“Hec sunt Capit. Mesuagia integ. Sce. crucis de Waltham.”

The list of these local men and their houses is somewhat interesting. No doubt they composed the major part, if not all, the population of Waltham Abbey, in the reign of King Henry II., *circa* 1154-1189:

Mesuage. Walti. de Eldewirche, diuise.† in ix. ptib.	Mesuagui. Thom. Beneit, dns.
John Gladewine,	Mesuag. Ric. Pistoris, integ.
Wills. Sunel - thurstan, Elyas Goding.	Mesuag. Stephi. Beneit, integ.
Sunelman, Rob. Joiberd, S. de Walda,	Mesuag. Ysaac Pistoris, integ.
R. de occident. It.	Mesuag. Nichi. fil. Willi., integer.
Joh. Gladewine.	Mesuag. Johis. Sute, dns. in ij.
	Mesuag. Ric. Tanacoris, integ.
	Mes. . Benedicti fulms, integ.

* This is printed in the Transactions of the Essex Arch. Soc., vol. iii., part ii., p. 35.

† Divided into nine parts.

Mes.	Benedicti Tanacor,	Mes.	Henr. Sad, integ.
	integ.	Mes.	Willi. Sudkin, integ.
Mesuag.	huriom, integ.	Mesuag.	Walti. pistoris, integ.
Mes.	Ric. lauret, integ.	Mes.	Goduini Spling, integ.
Mes.	Rad. Taunator, integ.	Mes.	Buteslie, integ.
Mesuag.	Ric. fros., integ.	Mesuag.	Walti. de eldenviche,
Mesuag.	Walti. Orglen, integ.		integ.
Mes.	Galfr. fros., integ.	Mes.	Thome le Messer,
Mes.	Walti. tholom, integ.		integ.
Mes.	Humfridi fil. Ric.,	Mes.	Alam Brunig, integ.
	integ.	Mes.	Walti. de Bosco, integ.
Mes.	Wakerild, integ.	Mes.	Thom. Parmitar, integ.
Mesuag.	stori., integ.	Mes.	Ric. Kinu., integ.
Mes.	Elye carbunel, integ.	Mes.	Willi. de Marisco,
Mesuag.	Magri. Vnilli, integ.		integ.
Mesuag.	Clauham, integ.	Mes.	Robi. Pistoris, integ.
Mesuag.	Gunnild orglen, integ.	Mes.	Johis. curiol, integ.
Mesuag.	Arnoldi fabri, integ.	Mesuag.	Godeholt, integ.
Mesuag.	Joye, integ.	Mes.	Hardwini spith., integ.
Mes.	Ade fil. Benedicti,	Mes.	Pet. de sarcno, integ.
	integ.	Mes.	Stephi. Grim., integ.
Mes.	Willi. everard, integ.	Mes.	Galfr. dulpain, integ.
Mes.	Henr. fil. Jacobi, integ.	Mes.	Stephi. Batle, integ.
It. Mes.	Magri. Willi., integ.	Mes.	Hug. faful, integ.
Mes.	Willi. langsuem, integ.	Mes.	Moysi. doy, integ.
Mes.	luuekin dulpain, integ.	Mes.	Sunois frere, integ.
Mesuag.	bucklesberd, integ.	Mes.	Willi. Godefroi, integ.
Mes.	Wækoc, integ.	Mes.	Walti. le gaunt, integ.
Mes.	Henr. Sad, integ.	Mes.	Wymudi fabri, integ.
It. Mes.	ide. H. M., integ.	Mes.	Bubo, integ.
Mes.	Aluene, Rob., integ.	Mes.	Willi. cardun, integ.
Mes.	Willi. Molend, integ.	Mes.	Thome Nuttis, integ.
Mes.	husser, integ.	Mes.	Peketo, integ.
Mes.	Symois. de bosco,	Mes.	Clauham, integ.
	integ.	Mes.	Milonis coci, integ.
Mes.	Rad. le Brun, integ.	Mes.	Johis. lel., integ.
Mes.	Galien, integ.	Mes.	Alam Brunig, integ.
Mes.	Johis. Russel, integ.	Mes.	fot., integ.
Mes.	Wækoc, integ.	Mes.	Rogi. fabri, integ.

Mes. . Joci. fabri, integ.
 Mesuagui. Gayole, integ.
 Mes. . Ric. faful, integ.
 Mes. . Willi. estinar, integ.
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Mes. Robti. molend, dns. in j.
 Mes. Alex. Sat, dns. in . ij.
 Mes. Cadema, d. in . . ij.
 Mes. Vault de Ponte, d. in ij.
 Mes. Thom. Schibet, d. in j.
 Mes. Alam Brunig, d. i. . j.
 Mes. Rob. laur., d. i. . j.
 Mes. Rob. Mcator., d. i. . j.
 Mes. Alam fullonis, d. i. . ij.
 Mes. Paulini, d. in . . iiij.
 Mes. Ric. fil. Galfr., d. in . ij.
 Mes. Willi. Dyomsu, in . j.
 Mes. Ric. terling, d. in . j.
 Mes. Willi. de Ware, d. in j.
 Mes. Willi. cissoris, d. in . j.
 Mes. Pet. Marcelli, d. i. . j.
 Mes. ad. cemtar, d. i. . j.
 Mes. Alex. Bucke, dns. in . j.
 Mes. Norme, d. in . . iiij.
 Mes. Isabell. Langfuein, d. i. j.
 Mes. Rad. Pannar, d. in . ij.
 Mes. Benedicti furley, d. in j.
 Mes. Gilebti fil. Rikild, d. i. ij.
 Mes. Rad. Pictoris, d. in . ij.
 Mes. G. luce, d. in . . j.

Mes. Johis. de baudac, d. i. j.
 Mes. Walt. Palent, d. i. . iiij.
 Mes. Olivi, d. i. . . ij.
 Mes. Laur. estmar, d. i. . ij.
 Mes. Ric. Babbe, d. i. . ij.
 Mes. Ric. flur., d. i. . . ij.
 Mes. Willi. Portaru, d. i. . ij.
 Mes. Augtnu. Godard, d. in ij.
 Mes. Rob. de Wermele, d. in ij.
 Mes. Aldwyn Puge, d. in . j.
 Mes. Rad. de infirmar, d. i. j.
 Mes. Hug. Sarrator, d. i. . j.
 Mes. Nich. cemtar, d. i. . ij.
 Mes. Ric. Cat., d. in . . j.
 Mes. Henr. Sculle, d. i. . j.
 Mes. Roc., d. in . . . j.
 Mes. Coti., d. in . . . v.
 Mes. Aylumdi, d. in . . j.
 Mes. Rob. de Epp, d. in . ij.
 Mes. Walti. Cissoris, d. i. . j.
 Mes. Stephi. Grun, d. i. . j.
 Mes. Rogi. nucu, d. i. . j.
 Mes. Prur, d. i. . . . j.
 Mes. Robti. Suite, d. i. . j.
 Mes. bndicti. fermin, d. i. . j.
 Mes. Bulge, d. i. . . . j.
 Mes. Rad. Polisur, d. i. . ij.
 Mes. Ric. hunfrey, d. i. . iiij.
 Mes. Walt. Orglen, d. i. . ij.
 Mes. Matild. Mayngod, d. i. j.
 Mes. Johis. Marescalli, d. in j.
 Mes. Henr. beusche, d. in j.
 Mes. Henr. Gos., d. in . . j.
 Mes. Thome Nutcis, d. i. . j.
 Mes. Johis. Berd, d. i. . . j.
 Mes. Clemtis. bigge, d. i. . j.
 Mes. Walti. Lithfot, d. i. . j.
 Mes. Johis. Roc, d. in . . iiij.
 Mes. Gulot, d. in . . . j.

Mes. Kipping, d. i.	iiij.	Mes. Maur. ppositi, d. i. . . .	j.
Mes. Stephi. babbe, d. i. . .	iiij.	Mes. Johis. Gos, d. i. . . .	iiij.
Mes. Xpian. terttis, d. i. . .	j.	Mes. Edwardi Sabarn, d. i. .	iiij.
Mes. Edith. ful, d. i. . . .	j.	Mes. Dile, d. i.	j.
Mes. Henr. de farto, d. i. . .	j.	Mes. Sawile de budeshath,	
Mes. Gunnore, d. in	j.	d. i.	j.
Mes. Hay, d. i.	j.	Mes. Osebti caretarii, d. i. .	j.
Mes. Matild. Samuel, d. i. .	iiij.	Mes. Willi. Jacob, d. i. . .	j.
Mes. Math. Ps., d. i. . . .	j.	Mes. Galfr. frohs, d. i. . .	j.
Mes. Ric. Gatle, d. i. . . .	j.	Mes. Gunild. leskem Miles-	
Mes. Robti. fabri, d. i. . . .	j.	sot, d.	v.

Folio 29 is an indenture made between Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Alice, his wife, on the one part, and the Abbot of Waltham on the other part, dated Westminster, "Sci. Johis. Baptiste Anno Regni Regis Edwardi sexto" (6 Ed. I., 1278).

The said Robert de Vere, and Alice, his wife, petitioned the Abbot of Waltham for the manor of "Sywardstone" (Sewardstone), which was held by their father of the king *in capite*—"Robts. de Ver comes Oxonis & Alic. ux. eius petuat rd. Abbem de Walthen Manur. de Sywardiston cu. ptinent. vt jus ipsius Alicie P. Pape in capite," etc.

This was Robert de Vere, fifth Earl of Oxford, who married Alice, daughter of Gilbert, Lord Sandford, chamberlain to Queen Eleanor, and sister and sole heir of Nicholas, Lord Sandford.

Robert died 24 Edward I., A.D. 1295. Alice died at Canfield House, near Dunmow, the 9th September 1312. This Robert was one of the barons in arms against the king.

Folio 30b is a charter of Henry II. to Richard Fitz Aucher of Copped Hall, in which the king grants and confirms to the said Richard two pieces of land—*duas vgatas terre*—called "le Poer," in Waltham, with an additional two acres of assart land—a clear place in a wood—for the erection of a mansion with the privileges and rights of all surrounding woods, lands, pastures, waters, mills, etc.

Folio 31b is an order, or as the margin states, "discharge from the king (Edward I.), to pay the rent of the manor of

Waltham, to Alinore the queen," daughter of Ferdinand III., King of Castile, the first wife of King Edward I.

Annexed to this is the "like warrant, the baroons of the echeccur, and the discharg of the Abot of Waltham," A.D. 1281.

Folio 33 gives the ancient charter of Edward the Confessor, which is printed in the "Monasticon," vol. vi., pt. i., p. 61. Here also are the charters of Henry II., Henry III., Richard I., Queen Alineor, and King John.

Folio 48*b* commences the grants which Queen Alienor confirmed to the canons of Waltham.

Folio 50 is the following note in English, written early in the sixteenth century :

"Be the Duk of Gloucestre, chef iustice of all the fforest a this half trent, for as muche as we be enformed that ye purpose to malyng e agenst the libertes & ryghtes grawntyd be my lordis noble pgenitours to ye Abbot & convent of Walthm, & by my seyd lord satyfyed & confermed, by undue meenes agenist trouth & gode conscience; we wele & charge you to cesse of your malice, and from thns forth to suffre hem, theyre suants, fermoures & tenants, thar godis & catall, to sem rest, & in nowyse agenst hem nor non of hem t'attempte, but hem godly cherisse in thar ryght, and to charge alle offices of yt forest to do ye same, & in no wyse to doo ne y' to doo ye cont'ry offer as in you is, as we trust you. And as ye will have our gode lordship and eschue ye rens as the cas requireth yeu en."

Folio 57 is a charter of Simon, Abbot of Waltham, to Stephen Fitz Aucher, of all the land in "Kingestansfare," in Waltham, *temp.* Henry III., dated at Waltham on the Feast of St Dunstan, A.D. 1270.

Folio 71 is the "Cirographum int. Dnm. Abbem de Waltham et Dnm. Petru de Sacbadia." This is relating to the grievance between the two parishes, Waltham and Cheshunt—"Hec est finalis cocordia. facta in curid. dni. Regio apud Westmons. a die Sci. Anchaelis in tres septinanas anno Regio Regis Henrici filii Regis Johannes tricesimotcio" (folio 71). This is followed (folio 74*b*) by "the bowndys bytween the lordshippys of Walthm and Chesthunt;" also a charter of King Henry III.,

by which he grants to the canons of Waltham lands in Nazing, Epping, Loughton, and Woodford. Folio 77 gives the "Prima Carta Michaelis de Wanci de Stanstede* qam. fecit nob. tepore. Regis Henrici II. adwocati uri. Scdam. Inwernes carta pdci. militis de pdca. uilla i. sequita, folio ix." This relates to the manor of Stanstead, county Herts. Michaelis de Wanci in the time of Henry II. was lord of the manor of Stanstead. The charter (folio 77) expresses that the said Michael sold one moiety of his manor to King Henry II., who thereupon acquitted him against ("Bruno iudeo de London") Bruno the Jew of London of a debt of £280, 17s. 3d. The said king afterwards gave this moiety to the canons of the church of Waltham.

The other moiety the said Michael gave to the canons of Waltham (in the presence of the king) in perpetual alms, to hold of him and his heirs by the yearly rental of £12, with all covenants and liberties made between them, free from all

* Richard I. compelled the Abbot of Waltham to restore to Walter Peterin three messuages in Standstead, of which he had been unjustly deprived; from which we may infer that the entire manor did not at that time belong to the abbey. Another circumstance goes to prove that the Abbot of Waltham did not obtain permission to enclose the wood of Isneye and empark it until the time of Edward III. John, the Abbot of Waltham, granted by lease, dated November 7th, 1523, the manor of Stanstead to John Rodes of London, and Margaret his wife, for a term of sixty-one years, at the yearly rental of £25, 6s. 8d. He only remained in possession nineteen years, for at the dissolution of the abbey the manor was seized by the Crown and conveyed to Philip Paris.

The old manor-house of Stanstead near the church, now in the occupation of Captain Trower, stands within the limits of what was undoubtedly a Roman encampment. The mound by which it is surrounded, the fosse, its advantageous position commanding the valley of the Rye, its very name Stansteadbury or burgh, indicate that a fortress formerly stood upon its site. In later years it was a grange belonging to the Abbey of Waltham. In a wall in one of the cellars were recently discovered two niches; one is a piscina, the other, which has no drain hole, was probably intended as a locker or ambrey. This was then a chapel; and the discovery of the niches shows that a square recess in the east wall was designed to receive the altar. That the Abbots of Waltham should make choice of a damp, underground cellar, not ten feet square, for a chapel, into which a ray of light never entered, cannot be supposed. It was undoubtedly constructed after the suppression of religious houses, when it was dangerous to openly practise the rites of the Romish Church (Cussan's Hist. Herts, and Chauncy's Hist. Herts).

royal and foreign service. At the time when these donations were given to the canons of Waltham, Gilbert de Strigul was in the custody of King Henry II. These gifts were afterwards confirmed by William Mareschal (see folio 87 of the same MS.), who married the heiress of Gilbert de Strigul. Richard I., by a grant dated 18th September in the tenth year of his reign, confirmed these donations, expressly declaring that although Gilbert de Strigul was in the custody of the king's father at the time when they were made, yet because they were with the authority and knowledge of a wise and venerable prince, and not without great counsel, therefore the successors of Gilbert de Strigul, whosoever they might be, should not be admitted to controvert the donations. The Abbot of Waltham claimed by the grant of King Edward I. *soc, sac, toll, them, infangtheif, flemensfrith, grithbrick, forstal, homsocne, bladwite, ordel, oreste*, and easement from shires, hundreds, and from the court of the Holy Cross, and from all pleas, taxes, tolls, etc. (by the grant of King Henry II.), in all their lands in this county, *i.e.*, Wormley, Brickendon, and Stanstead; and all liberties which kingly power could grant to any church, from the passage over bridges, and from all works, etc., chattels of felons and fugitives, year and waste, custody of men taking plea of *namium vetitum*, free fishing in the water of the sea, to make pools, etc. Free warren and waifs by the grants of King Richard I. and Henry III. upon *quo warranto* brought before John de Reygate and others, justices itinerants at Hertford, anno 6 Edward I., they were allowed.*

In the MS. now under consideration (Harl. 391), together with the Tib. C. ix. already noticed, is found a series of fifteen charters relating to Alricheseia, county Bedford. An account of some of these is given by Stacey Grimaldi, Esq., F.S.A., from the originals in his own possession.† The fifteen numbers or charters just mentioned answer to the endorsements on Mr Grimaldi's deeds, Nos. VI. to XI., XIV.

* See Chauncy's Hist. Herts, p. 192.

† Collectanea Topog. et Geneal., vol. vi., p. 196.

and XV.; they also supply the deficient Nos. I. to V. and XIII., and they furnish a different No. XII. The chartulary of the Abbot Fuller, now in the Harl. MS. 3739, has been examined, but no charters regarding lands at Alrichesey occur therein.

Alriches, or Alrichesey as it is sometimes written, belonged to the church of Waltham from the earliest times. It occurs in the confirmation charter of Edward the Confessor—"Alricheseia cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus." Alrichesia is situated about three miles south-east of Shefford, in the hundred of Clifton. It was formerly a market town, which is so stated in Domesday. In 1270 it was confirmed to Stephen Edworth, then lord of the manor. The De la Poles possessed the manor in the reign of Edward III. In the reign of Henry VIII. it was held by the Tanfields under the Earl of Shewsbury.

The great tithes of the parish, which were appropriated to the Abbey of Waltham, were the property of the late Mrs Schutz, daughter to Dr Browne, in whose family they have been vested for many years.* Domesday Survey expresses that Alrichesia, which was estimated as eight hides, was temporarily alienated to the Bishop of Durham. Some of the grants are very curious, viz.:

"Terra epi. Dunelm'sis. In Hund. de Clistone tenisd. eps. viii. hid. in Alricesei 7 ii. part. i. virg. T'ra e. viii. car. In dnio. sunt iii. car. 7 viii. villi hnt. iii. car. 7 vta. pot. fieri. Ibi. v. bord. 7 ii. servi. 7 ii. molini xxvi. solid. 7 viii. den. Patu. iii. car. Valet et valuit vii. lib. T. R. E. viii. lib. Hoc. M. tener. canonici St. Crucis de Waltha. in elemosina T. R. E."

The manor of Alrichesia held by the Abbot of Waltham was then only reckoned as three hides :

"Aylricheseye.—Abb. de Wanth'm. iij hydas in capite de d'no. Rege in pura elem."

There is in the Waltham charters much relating to the estates as well as to the genealogy of the Burnard family,

* Lyson's Hist. Bedfordshire, p. 40.

which family chose the Priory of St Neot's, Huntingdonshire, to be their burial-place.

There are also several other charters given in this MS. (Harl. 391) worthy of notice. "*Carta balfrida de Melno*" is one of them. The manor of Milno (now called Millow or Milhow) is a hamlet in the parish of Dunton, county Bedfordshire. King Edward the Confessor gave it to the church of Waltham.

"*Carta terra in Pochia. Sci. Clementis London.*" This is a grant of a portion of land in St Clement's parish to Walter, Abbot of Waltham.

"*Carta terra in Emwelle*" (Amwell). This manor is situated in the parish of All Saints, Hertford, and is called Rushen, otherwise Little Amwell. It probably formed part of the manor of Brickendon, in the same parish, which at the time of the survey was parcel of the demesnes of the canons of Waltham. This place was the property of the canons of Waltham, 6 Edward III., when they had a grant of free warren in Brykendon Emwell.

The canons of Waltham also had the patronage of the Church of All Saints, Hertford, prior to the dissolution of monasteries.*

Folio 84*b* of this MS. gives the charter of Robert de Valonsis of the Church of All Saints, Hertford. Robert de Valoignes, for the health of himself and Hawise his wife, gave the Church of All Saints in Hertford to the canons of Waltham. Folio 87*b* is the "*Carta Gilebti filii Walielmi de Windlesores.*" Folio 97 is the "*Confirmatio Jocelim Saresbiriensis episcopi de Ecclesiis de Windesore.*" This appears to be a grant of confirmation by Josceline, Bishop of Salisbury, who was consecrated in 1142. He is called "*Josceline de Bailol, a Lombard,*" and was archdeacon of Winchester, afterwards prebend of York, and died 1184. He was one of the bishops excommunicated by Becket in 1166 and 1170 for consenting to the coronation of the younger Henry. Josceline had a son named Fitzjosceline.

* See Clutterbuck's Hist. Herts, vol. ii., p. 182.

This grant of Josceline refers to the church of Windsor, and also to a dispute which seems to have arisen between Roger le Poer, the predecessor of Josceline, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, respecting the castle of Windsor, which dispute delayed the marriage of King Henry and his second queen, Alice or Adelicia, the beautiful daughter of Godfrey of Lorraine. The Bishop of Salisbury claimed a right to marry the royal pair, because the castle of Windsor was within his diocese. The right was disputed by Ralph, the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the ground that, whenever the king and queen might be within the realm of England, they were his parishioners. The ceremony was eventually performed by the primate, on the 24th of January 1121, in the presence of the whole council of England, then assembled at Windsor.*

By this grant of Josceline's it would appear that the canons of Waltham had possessions in Windsor prior to Richard I. (1189-90).† This king, however, in the first year of his reign, gave the Church of St John the Baptist, New Windsor, with the chapels of Old Windsor, to the canons of Waltham, in whose possession it remained until the dissolution.

Among the appendages to the castle at this period (19 Henry II.) was the vineyard. The pay of the vintager and the expenses of gathering the grapes are among the regular annual charges relating to Windsor on the Pipe Rolls, from the commencement of the series in 1155. Lambarde says, in the "Records," "it moreoever appeareth that tythe hath bene payed of wyne pressed out of grapes that grewe in the Little Parke theare, to the Abbot of Waltham, which was parson bothe of the Old and New Wyndsore, and that accompts have bene made of the charges of planting the vines that grewe in the saide parke, as also of making the wyne, whearof somme partes weare spent in the householde, and somme solde for the kinge's profite." Stow gives a similar account. He says that in the records of the Honor Court of Windsor Castle, held in the outer gatehouse, is to be "seene

* Tighe & Davis' Annals of Windsor, vol. i., p. 28.

† See Cott. MS., c. ix., folio 62; Harl. 391, folio 97.

the yeerely account of the charges of the planting of the vines that in the time of K. Richard the Second grew in great plenty within y^e Litle Parke, as also of the making of the wine itself." Richard III., in the first year of his reign, granted to John Piers the office of "Master of our Vyneyarde or Vynes nigh unto our Castell of Wyndesore, and otherwise called the office of Keeper of our Gardyne called the Vyneyarde nigh unto our said Castell, to have and occupie the same office, by him or his deputie sufficient for the terme of his lyff, with the wages and fees of *vid.* by the day."*

King Henry III., in the eleventh year of his reign, confirmed by charter the church of Windsor to the canons of Waltham, at which time the canon complained that, "although his tenants of the property of Windsor church had always been exempt from tallage or taxes, yet that the king's officers of the Exchequer had assessed them in common with the other inhabitants of Windsor, and refused to make restitution. The king thereupon directed inquiry to be made into the truth of the abbot's allegation of previous exemption, and commanding that, if found to be true, the tenants should be exempt from payment."† Pope Nicholas IV., in the year 1288, granted to King Edward I. the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices for the term of six years, in order to defray the expense of a journey to the Holy Land. The king's taxes which began in that year ended in 1291. "Under this taxation, New Windsor is inserted in the diocese of Salisbury. . . . The Abbot of Waltham was, in the first instance, assessed at 3s. 2d. in respect of New Windsor, and at 12s. 8d. in respect of Old Windsor; but a line is drawn across both entries. "Wyndlesore Underore" is described as being (with several other places) in the hands of the Reading Abbots. In the "spiritualities" of the deanery, Windsor Church is not mentioned by name, but the church of Waltham Abbey, with the vicarage, in respect of tithes, is assessed at £ 13, 6s. 8d., referring probably to the churches of Old and New Windsor, both

* Annals of Windsor (as before), also Lambard's Dict. Angliæ.

† *Ib.*

of which were, as has been already stated, in the possession of the abbey.

King Harold previously held the manor of Windsor, which, in his time, comprised but five hides and a half, the castle of Windsor being erected on the other half hide.

In this MS. (Harl. 391) there are several charters relating to lands in London. Folio 89*b* is the charter of William Revel (and Andrew his heir), by which he claims certain liberties of "Ricard. filii Ernaldi," the Abbot of Waltham. The Revel family were of considerable note in their time. A John Revel held the manor of Revel's Hall in the vill of Bengoe, county Herts, *temp.* Henry II.* Robert Revel was one of the sheriffs of London, 1490. He gave liberally towards the rebuilding of the Church of St Mary-at-Hill, London, where he was buried.† This church is so called from its being dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and its situation on an eminence. In digging the foundation of the present building in 1497, the corpse of Alice Hackney, who died about the year 1322, was discovered in a very decayed coffin. The skin of the corpse "was sound and flexible, and the joints pliable, though buried about 175 years. The body was kept above ground three or four days without any noisome smell, but then, beginning to be tainted, was again laid in the ground."‡

Folio 90.—"Carta Scotlandi de Yfeld de loco & tra edificion uron in londoniis." This deed or charter (like several others given in this volume, is without date) has been fully described by G. R. Corner, Esq., F.S.A., in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, under the title of "The Abbot of Waltham's House in the Parish of St Mary-at-Hill, London," published in the "Archæologia," vol. xxxvi., p. 400. "It is remarkable," says the writer, "that Stow makes no mention of the Abbot of Waltham's house at St Mary-at-Hill, although the industrious London historian lived hard by, in the parish of St Andrew's Undershaft. . . . St Mary-at-Hill is a street running north and south from East-

* Clutterbuck, vol. ii., p. 28.

† Stow's Survey, and Malcolm's Londinium Rediv., vol. iv., p. 422.

‡ Chamberlain's Hist. Lond., 459.

cheap to Billingsgate, and at a short distance on the west is a narrow lane called Love Lane, one of the narrowest and most crooked lanes in the city of London, running from East-cheap to Thames Street. The parish church of St Mary-at-Hill stands between these two ways, and the Abbot of Waltham's house stood on the south side of the church, towards Billingsgate. Walter de Gaunt, the first Abbot of Waltham, became possessed of some ground in the parish of St Mary-at-Hill, on the south side of the church of that parish, by purchase from *Scotland de Ifeld* and *Idonea*, his wife, on which ground the abbot built a house or inn for the residence and convenience of himself and his successors when business or occasion should bring them to London." The deed of *Scotland de Yfeld* or *Ifeld* and *Idonea*, his wife, has been translated thus:*

"*Scotland de Ifeld* and *Idonea*, his wife, granted to God and the Church of the Holy Cross of Waltham, and the canons regular serving God there, in perpetual arms, for the health of their souls and the health of the souls of all theirs, the land which was of *Alwric de Hulla*, near the church of St Mary de Hulla in London, towards the west, subject to the annual rent of one penny. And with that grant *Scotland* gave his body to be buried with his most dear brothers at Waltham.† Witness, *Nigel*, the chaplain; *Ralph*, the chaplain; *Gilbert de Dakenham*; *Symon*, the clerk; *Richard*, Dean of *Shepey*; *Richard*, the clerk; *Hubert*, the clerk; *Jordan*, the alderman; *William*, the clerk, son of *Alexander Sperleng*; *John*, *Martin*, and *Theodoric*, his brothers; *Hamon fitz Hugh*; *John de Polstede*, *Hudo*, and *William*, the bakers; *Godwin*, the merchant; *Gilbert*, the felt maker; *Symon*, the weaver; *Bernard*, the bedell; *Alwin Maie*; *Robert de Walton*; *Norman*, the draper; *William*, the smith; *William*, son of *Jordan*; *Walter*, the weaver; and many others."

Harl. MS., 391, folio 93, is the charter of *John de Leverton*, son of *Alward*, who, by deed, gave to the canons regular of Waltham the church of *Leverton* in pure and perpetual alms. The parish of *Leverton* is situated on the high road from

* *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi., p. 400.

† *Scotland de Ifeld*, buried at Waltham, *i.e.*, "Ego *Scotland* do & cedo corp. meu. sepeliendu. cu. *Kmis. frib. meis* apd. *Walth.*"

Wainfleet to Boston, county Lincoln. This *carta* bears date "Anno Dom. MCCXXVII., vi. Kal. Maii" (6th May 1227). Among the witnesses is the name of John Inneno de Waltham and Roger Bacon. This church is called "Sce. Elene" (St Helen).

This deed is followed by a confirmation charter of Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, confirming the church of Leverton to that of Waltham. This Robert was probably the renowned Grosthead* or Grosseteste; there was certainly no other Bishop Robert from the time of Robert de Chisney, born 1147, died 1167, to the time of Robert Sanderson (1660).

Folio 93*b* is the second charter of John de Leverton, son of Alwardi, dated at Wrangle, February M.CCXXXIX., confirming the church of Leverton to Waltham Abbey. After this is a document relating to the church of Leverton, between Thomas the bishop and Richard de Htfordingebery, bearing date October 1323. This bishop was Henry Burghersh or Burwash, who was installed to office July 20, 1320, and died at Ghent (1340), in Flanders, where he had accompanied King Edward III. His body was brought to England, and interred near the east end of Lincoln Cathedral. Folios 98, 99, is a grant of the church of Badburgeham to the canons of Waltham. Folio 100 is the *carta* of William, Bishop of Hereford, "dedicatio et indulgentiæ concessæ capellæ sci. Thomæ," *temp.* Henry II.† Also a charter of "Simonis Clunardensis epi. de dedicatione Altariu. & de relaxatione penitentie." Folio 100*b*, "Carta Rie. Cant. Archiepi. de Relaxatioe. penitentie Inmuentione & in Exaltacioe. sce. Crucis," etc.

Folio 102‡ is the charter of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln.

* Consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, May 18, 1235. He was a man of obscure origin, but of eminent learning. He ruled over his diocese for eighteen years, and died October 9, 1253 (see Hist. Lincoln, p. 146).

† This was an ancient chapel, adjoining the parish church of Waltham.

‡ "Carta Hugonis Lincoln. epi. de Alricheseia." The date of this charter is not given, but Mr Grimaldi, a writer in the Coll. Top. et Geneal., vol. vi., p. 202, states "the seal (of the original document) is broken away. The date of this charter is very nearly fixed, as Haimo, Dean of Lincoln, one of the witnesses, held that dignity from 1189 to 1195."

Folio 105 is an account of the church of Wrangle in Lincolnshire ("Appropriatio eccleæ. de Wrangle Com. Linc."—a charter between Simon le Bret of Waltham and Hugh, the Bishop of Lincoln).

The Abbot of Waltham became a principal proprietor in Wrangle in the reign of Henry II., when the church and much land in the parish were given to Waltham by Simon le Bret, whose son Simon was also a considerable benefactor to Waltham Abbey. Wrangle church is dedicated to St Nicholas. The family of Le Bret appear to have held their lands of the honour of Richmond.*

Folio 106b.—"Carta Euardi de Geist de eccla. de Geist & de Geistorp de Noroune" (Nortone, Norfolk). This relates to "Everard fili Radide Geiste," and his gift, with the grant of confirmation of "Allen-su Rogeri fil.," of the church of Geist or Geistthorp, county Norfolk, to the "Ecclie. Sce. Cruc. de Waltham can. Regular ibidem."

Sir Ralph de Geist was lord of the manor of Geist or Geistthorp in the reign of King Henry II. His son Eborard or Everard gave this lordship, with the advowson of the church, to the Abbey of Waltham. The last-named married Alianere, daughter of Reginald de St Martin, by whom he had a son, Roger de Geist, who confirmed the same grant. Pope Innocent, who died 1130, confirmed to the canons of Waltham their right to St Andrew of Geist, of All Saints, Geistthorp, and St Peter's of Geistweyt, given to them by the aforesaid Eberard, with the consent of Roger and Richard his sons, for the soul of King Henry II. Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury—who was translated to that see from Salisbury, and died in 1205—and John of Oxford, Bishop of Norwich, granted them licence to appropriate the same. The church of Geist is dedicated to St Andrew, to which there was a chapel belonging, called Geistthorp Chapel, dedicated to All Saints. It was anciently a rectory, and when appropriated to Waltham, James de Ferentino, Dean of Holt, and proctor of the Archdeacon of Norwich, and the Abbot and

* See Saunders' Hist. of Lincoln.

convent of Waltham, in the vacancy of the see of Norwich, came to this agreement, that the abbot and convent should yearly grant to the vicar of Geist and Geisthorp two marks, one at Easter and the other at St Michael's; also all the altarages of the said church and chapel, but therewith to pay all ecclesiastical charges to the bishop and archdeacon, and to keep a resident chaplain for the chapel of Geysthorp. The first known vicar presented to this church by the Abbot and convent of Waltham was Roger Muriel, instituted in 1310. The church of St Peter, Geystweyt, or Geystwick, being a rectory, was granted as before stated by Everard de Geist to the Abbey of Waltham. In a window of this church was the portrait of a physician administering medicine to a sick person in bed, to which was appended these words: "In sicknes I pyne—Trost in God, and here is medicine." Also an unclothed person, with these words: "For cold I quake." Also a woman bringing clothes: "Have here clothes and warm to make." Walter de Kelelston was presented to the vicarage of St Peter by the Abbot and convent of Waltham in 1316.

Folio 108.—William de Draitun (Drayton) by this charter gives all his land in the town of Drayton, county Norfolk, to the canons of Waltham (by 4d. rent). William, the son of Aylmer de Skerning, or Scarning, granted the lands which he held of Gilbert de Fransham for 2s. rent. This was confirmed by Robert, brother of Gilbert de Fransham, Roger Gelafre, and Beatrix his wife, widow of Gilbert. Of this family was Alexander de Skerning, who married Nichola, daughter and heiress of Roger L'Estrange, about 34 Henry III. This charter was witnessed by Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1205, and several other dignitaries of the church.*

Folio 110*b*.—A charter of "Gaufr. de Scalarus" (or Geoffrey de Scalars) of the church of Badburgeham in the diocese of Ely, Cambridge, to the canons of Waltham, *temp.* Henry II. Folio 111.—"Caterham or Katerham Eccl. com. Surr. Win-

* Bloomfield's Hist. Norfolk, vol. x., p. 41.

ton diocese cum taxatione vicariæ." The manor of Caterham was, according to the "Monasticon Anglicanum," given by Everard de Geist to the canons of Waltham in the time of King John, *i.e.*, between 1199 and 1216.* Among some papers relating to St Thomas's Hospital in Southwark is a deed, by which Geoffrey de Katerham gave to Roger his son lands in Caterham, and Everard the son of Roger gave them to the hospital, together with 2s. rent paid by Roger Blunde for land in this manor called Porkele. The advowson of the church went with the manor. The Abbot of Waltham had a grant of free warren 6 Edward III., 1333, and obtained a confirmation of it from the first of Henry V. The canons of Waltham obtained a licence of appropriation some time during the reign of Henry III., as the name of William, Bishop of Winton, occurs in the charter, dated from Waltham. This bishop was no doubt William de Raleigh, or Radley, who was translated from Norwich to the see of Winchester in 1243. The canons of Waltham presented to the church of Caterham from 14th October 1312, to the dissolution. Hugh de Aungier was the first incumbent. Robert de Halyfield, who succeeded him, may have been a native of Waltham.† He was installed into the living by the canons of Waltham, January 26, 1329-30. The register of Caterham of that date being lost, it is not known how long he stayed there.‡

Folios 111, 112.—The charter of Juliane, daughter of Galfridi de Sudecampes, who by it appropriates the church of Sudecamp to the church of Waltham. The charter is signed by Adam de Waltham, Robert de Archer, probably of the family of Fitzaurchers of Copthall, and others. Adam de Witz, Wiz, or Wich, was Abbot of Waltham from 1263 to 1269.

Sudecamps is sometimes called Shudy-Camps, Shudee-Camps, and Schode-Camps. It is connected with Castle-Camps, being fourteen miles south-east of Cambridge, and about thirteen south of Newmarket. The manor of Sude-

* See *ante*.

† Holyfield is a hamlet in this parish.

‡ See Manning and Bray's Hist. Surrey, vol. ii., p. 343.

camp appears to have acquired its name from the family of Shudee who possessed it, and who gave the hamlet of Northoe to the monks of Ely. In the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. the manor was held by the Hanchet family, and afterwards by the family of Playz as heirs of the Montfitchets.*

Folio 112*b*.—Charter of William, Bishop of London, by which he confirms the churches of "Alfemeston" and Lamborne to the canons of Waltham. The document is dated from Waltham, anno Dom. MCCXVIII. Lamborne and Alfemeston churches seem to have been appropriated to the canons, and a vicarage ordained, with this proviso, that the perpetual vicar who should supply the cure should pay 40*s*. yearly to the said canons, for the use of the poor of their hospital, built within the court of their monastery, etc.† Morant states that he did not find that it was appropriated to the canons of Waltham, "though such a design was formed, but continued a rectory in their gift till the dissolution of monasteries." Lamborne Church, dedicated to All Saints, was given by Robert de Lamburn to the canons of Waltham, and confirmed to them by William de S. Maria, Bishop of London, in 1218. Alfemeston, or Alphamston, is in the county of Essex.

Folio 113*b*.—See account of the churches of Old and New Windsor, *ante*. Folio 115*b*.—"Foundatio Capellæ sci. Thomæ Martyris in P. ochio. de Walda apud Boscum arsum Burntwood." This charter is dated 1221, and relates to the chapel founded at Brentwood, county Essex, that year at the request of David, abbot of St Osith, for the convenience of their tenants at Cost-hall, with consent of the Abbot and convent of Waltham, the Bishop of London, and of Richard, parson of Weld. Richard, Abbot of Waltham, whose name occurs at the commencement of the charter, received the temporalities of Waltham in 1218. Folio 118.—Charter of Ralph de Ravendale, the son of Gilbert, in which he grants the church

* Lyson's Camb., p. 158.

† See margin of charter, and New Court Rept.

of "Crokesby,"* county Lincoln, to the church of Waltham. This is followed by another—"Carta Willi Pollard de Ecclia. de Crokesby," which is confirmed by Agnes, widow of the said William Pollard, to the church at Waltham, 5 Edward I., 1277. Folio 120b.—"Capella in domo ura. de Byllynggesgat, London."

Folio 121 is a bull of Pope Alexander III. to Ralph, the prior and canon of Waltham, *circa* 1177. King Henry II. obtained the consent—*privilegium*—of Alexander to suppress the secular order of canons, and substitute the Augustine canons in their room. Roger de Hoveden, writes Mr Stubbs, "here runs together, with great risk of confusion, several events concerning the church of Waltham: (1.) The resignation of Dean Guy to the king, which took place at the council of Northampton; (2.) The formal resignation to the archbishop at Waltham; (3.) The expulsion of the canons, which took place June 11, 1177; and (4.) the appointment of Walter of Gant, which was made in July 1184"† Accordingly the dean and secular canons resigned the deanery and prebends into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Ralph, a prebendary of Chichester, was made their prior by the Bishop of London; and at his instalment, made a solemn profession of canonical obedience to that prelate.‡ Alexander III. occupied the papal chair from 1159 to 1180-1. He was an "avenger of the murder of Thomas a Becket," December 28, 1170. Richard, formerly Prior of Dover, succeeded him in 1171. Robert, or Gilbert, Foliot, was then Bishop of London, 1163-1187. This bull is followed by a letter of Walter, Abbot of Waltham, to Pope Clement III., 1187-1191.

Ralph, the first prior, and his successors, were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and had other indulgences granted them by Popes Lucius III., Clement III., Urban III., Celestine and Innocent III.

* Croxby, 1277.

† Hoveden's Chronica, vol. ii., p. 118.

‡ See Collier's Eccles. Hist. Gt. Brit., vol. ii., p. 333.

Folio 123 is a facsimile of the bull of Pope Lucius III. with name attached, date 1182. Folio 126*b*, bull of Pope Urban III. with name, etc., attached, date 1187. Pope Urban authorised the canons of Waltham "not to mortgage any of their estates at the command of any person whatsoever."* Folio 129, bull of Pope Clement III., date 1188. Folio 133*b*, bull of Pope Celestine III., date 1191. Folio 147*b*, bull of Pope Innocent IV. He excommunicated King John of England; gave the red hat, 1243. Folio 153, "Privilegium Innoc. IIII."

This MS. concludes with the confirmation of most of the grants already noticed, viz., The church of Windsor to the cellarer; the churches of Alrichsey, Hertford, and Nazinges, for providing of vestments; and the churches of Eppinges, Wudeford, Netleswelle, and Luketon, to the use of the sacristy.

CHURCH MUSIC (LANSD. MSS. 763).

One of the most curious and interesting manuscripts connected with Waltham is one entitled "*Musica Guidonis et Aliorum Tractatus De Musica*.—Mus. Brit. Bibl. Lansdown. 763, Plut. lxxvi. A." This volume is beautifully written on vellum of the fifteenth century, and is expressive of the work of a master hand. By the rubric inscription on the second leaf it appears to be the work of John Wylde, precentor of the abbey church, *circa* A.D. 1400. The title unabridged runs thus: "*Hunc Librum vocitatum Musicam Guidonis, scripsit Dominus Johannes Wylde, quondam exempti Monasterii Sancta Crucis de Waltham Precentor.*" After this comes the usual anathema: "*Quem quidem Librum, aut hunc titulum, qui malitiose abstulerit aut deleverit, Anathema sit.*" Sir John Hawkins suggests that there was little reason to suspect that Tallys felt the effects of the anathema. Admonitions of this kind are frequently to be met with in ancient manuscripts formerly belonging to monastic buildings. There is one in a tract—

* See Stevens' *Hist. of Abbeys*, vol. ii., p. 115.

"De quatuor Principalia," etc., now in the Bodleian Library. It had been given to a convent of Friars Minors in 1388.* The book is bound in antique style (whole calf), ornamented on the sides and back with gilt. Little or nothing is known of John Wylde apart from this valuable manuscript. Long prior to the Reformation this volume was in constant use in the choral service of the ancient monastery. When the suppression of this monastery in the reign of Henry VIII. took place, the book, it is said, fell into violent hands. About this time it came into the possession of the celebrated Thomas Tallys, organist to the king, whose autograph appears twice on the back of the last leaf.

Thomas Tallys was one of the greatest musicians that this country has produced. He flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century, and is said to have been organist of the chapel royal to King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. It appears that in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary he was simply a gentleman of the chapel, and served for $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per diem. Under Elizabeth he and the celebrated William Birde were gentlemen of the chapel and organists. From Thomas Tallys the volume is supposed to have passed into the hands of the no less celebrated Thomas Morley, one of the gentlemen of Queen Elizabeth's chapel, to whom it was of considerable service in writing his work, entitled "A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke set doune in forme of a dialogue, devided into three parts," Lond., 1597. It afterwards became the property of Mr Powle, Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of William III.; Lord Chancellor Somers, and Sir Joseph Jekyl. At Jekyl's sale it was purchased by some country organist, who presented it to Mr James West, President of the Royal Society. From him it went to the Earl of Shelburne, whose coat of arms is now on the fly-leaf. Dr Pepusch appears to have been permitted by one of its owners to make a transcript of it. Dr Burney, through the intervention of the Hon. Daines Barrington, was favoured with the MS. while it

* History of Music (Hawkins), vol. ii., p. 202.

was in the possession of Mr West. The musical doctor proceeds to relate that he possessed it just before his departure for Italy, but returned it ere he left England, in case of accident, though he had then made but small progress with it. After the death of Mr West, the doctor states that he was a considerable time ignorant as to whom this curious and valuable MS. belonged, but at length had the good fortune to discover that it had fallen into the hands of the Earl of Shelburne, by whose liberal communication he had long been indulged with the use of it. The book was well known to Sir John Hawkins, also to Humphrey Wanley, whose letter is appended to it, with that of Dr John Wallis, respecting the Greek manuscript taken from the Turks at Buda in 1686. It has been for many years safely preserved among the Lansdowne Collection of MSS. The volume contains 124 folios, besides the letters above named. On the first folio is the name of the author or transcriber—Johannes Wylde. His name also occurs in folio 51*b*, and his initials, J. W., after the words "Explicitint Regulæ Magistri Johannis Torkesey de 6 Speciebus natarum." The contents of the volume are given on the fly-sheet: "I. Musica Guidonis Monachi. II. De Origine et Effectu Musicæ. III. Speculum Cantatium sive Psalterium. IV. Metrologus Liber. V. Regulæ Magistri Johan Torksey. VI. Tractatus Magistri Johannes de Muris de distantia et Mensura vocum. VII. Regulæ Magistri Thomæ Walsingham. VIII. Lione Power of the Cordis of Musicke. IX. Treatise of Musical Proportions, and of their Naturis and Denominations, first in English and then in Latyne."

Wylde gave his book the title of "Monacordum," and divided it into two parts. The first is called "Musica Manulis," which extends from folio 3 to 18; and the second part "Tonale." The writer expresses in the preface his determination to follow the rules of Boetius, Macrobius, and Guido, as he had gleaned much from their works. He has adapted the Guidonian hand or gamut to the hands of boys, by which they can carry the scale about with them, and adds that the left hand is to be used in preference to the right, because nearest

the heart. The writer also studiously avoids all secular music. On the last leaf of the work is written the name of its possessor, Thomas Tallys; also:

"xxi gilt bookes in qto and octavo.
x bookes in folio.
iii fayre sets gilt bookes."

The beautiful folio manuscript, Harl. 3739, once adorned the library of our abbey church, and was written by the last Abbot, Robert Fuller, *circa* 1526-40.

This chartulary, or ledger book, as it is called, was compiled during the abbot's government here, and contains the muniments of the church on 436 pp. folio; 381 pages appear to have been written by the abbot's own hand, but the remaining pages, or the last two charters of his alienation of Copt Hall to Henry VIII., are in a different handwriting. In the text or initial letters, which are beautifully embellished, the abbot's name is inserted in nine different places on the scroll-work of the letters, viz., "Dns. Robertus Fuller abbas," thrice; "hunc scripsit librum," and has "quidem cartas scripsit dns. R. F. abbas," twice.; "D. R. F. A." down two others, and twice "liber sancte crucis de Waltham." In one O is a shield, with a cross charged with five others. On the first page is written "in all 5 tomes, Tom. I."* Respecting this particular, Dugdale† says, "There does not seem good reason for believing that Fuller ever went further in his work than the present volume." The folio bears the following title on the back: "Registrum Cartarum Monasterii de Waltham.—Mus. Brit. Bibl. Harl., 3739, Plut. lv. E."

After the dissolution of the monastery, this book came into the possession of the Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Doncaster, Baron of Sauley and Waltham, who resided in a fine old mansion adjoining the abbey. Dr Thomas Fuller refers to this in his "History of Waltham," published in 1655:

* The name of "Willim. Hamby, *sum liber*," is on the first page.

† See "Monasticon Anglicanum," ed. by Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, 1830, vol. vi., pt. i., p. 59.

"Know, reader, that whatever hereafter I allege touching the lands and liberties of Waltham, if not otherwise attested by some author in the margin, is by me faithfully transcribed out of Waltham ledger-book, now in the possession of the Right Honourable James [Hay], Earl of Carlisle. This book was collected by Robert Fuller, the last Abbot of Waltham; who, though he could not keep his abbey from dissolution, did preserve the antiquities thereof from oblivion. The book (as appears by many inscriptions in the initial text-letters) was made by himself, having as happy a hand in fair and fast writing as some of his surname since have been defective therein."

In 1718 this MS. fell into the hands of Brown Willis, the great antiquary, who held it, doubtless, until it finally reached the British Museum.

The following is a summary of the Chartulary, written by Robert Fuller :

1. Carta Sancti regis Edwardi de possessionibus nostris, fol. 1.
2. Carta Mathildis reginæ de molendinis, fol. 7.
3. Carta regis Henrici Primi de molendinis, fol. 8.
4. Carta Mathildis reginæ de Northlanda, *ib.*
5. Carta regis Henrici Primi quam fecit Mathildæ reginæ, fol. 9.
6. Carta Adeliciæ reginæ de decimis dandis, fol. 10.
7. Carta regis Stephani de libertatibus Canonicorum, fol. 11.
8. Carta regis Henrici Secundi, fundatoris nostri de possessionibus nostris, prima et originalis, fol. 12.
9. Carta Henrici II. de libertatibus nostris, fol. 20.
10. Carta regis Ricardi Primi de possessionibus, fol. 24.
11. Carta regis Ricardi Primi de manerio de Waltham innovata, fol. 35.
12. Carta regis Ricardi Primi de essartis, fol. 41.
13. Carta regis Ricardi Primi facta Ricardo filio Aucheri de perdonatione xxiiij^s. iiij^d. de firma de Waltham, fol. 43.
14. Carta regis Henrici III. filii regis Johannis de possessionibus nostris secundum tenorum secundæ cartæ regis Ricardi de eisdem possessionibus, fol. 45.
15. Carta regis Henrici III. de manerio nostro de Waltham, data apud Waltham anno regni ejusdem regis tricesimo septimo, fol. 56.

16. Carta regis Henrici III. de warrenis, data apud Waltham anno tricesimo septimo, fol. 64. 35. C
17. Carta regis Henrici III. de ampliacione lx. acr. terræ ad Parcum Haroldi, fol. 69. 36. 7
18. Carta regis Henrici III. de duobus boscis nostris claudendis scilicet de Nesinge et de Eppinge, fol. 71. 37.
19. Carta regis Henrici III. facta Auchero et heredibus suis de annuo redditu xxvj^s. de firma de Waltham, fol. 73. 38.
20. Carta regis Henrici de manerio de Parndon, fol. 74. 39.
21. Memorandum de anno xxij^o. regis Ricardi Secundi Trin. rec. rot. xxij, fol. 77. 40.
22. Copia divers. sex cartarum et finis levatus promanerio de Lawfar, fol. 93. 41.
23. Carta prioris et conventus de Cruce Roys de redditu xxx^s. et unius libri piperis et cimini in Laufare et Machinge, &c., fol. 113. 42.
24. Carta Willielmi de septem molis de toto tenemento suo in Stanforde, fol. 117. 43.
25. Carta Rogeri de Bello Campo de confirmatione et warantizatione totius terr. Willielmi de septem molis in Stanford, fol. 119. 44.
26. Queta clamatio Rogeri de Bello Campo, de feodo suo in villa de Stanford, fol. 121. 45.
27. Cirographum inter Willielmum de septem molis tenente et Willielmum le Band patentem de feod. mediet. unius milit. in villa de Stanford et de capella in eodem, fol. 123. 46.
28. Carta Hugonis de Nevell de manerio de Thorndon, fol. 125. 47.
29. Alia carta de Hugone de Nevell Pro manerio de Thorndon, fol. 129. 48.
30. Confirmatio Johannis de Nevell de manerio de Thorendon, fol. 133. 49.
31. Carta Johannis de la Mare de Bukherst et villa de Lucton, Woodford, Chingforde, Chygwell, cum octo solidatis annui redditus et aliis rebus, fol. 135. 50.
32. Carta Petri Heved de toto tenemento quod habuit in villa de Tillingham, cum omnibus Pertinentiis, fol. 138. 51.
33. Carta Picardi de Gibbecrake de duobus mariscis in Danssy, scilicet Mouchmere et Halsmere cum pertinentiis, fol. 142. 52.
34. Carta Johannis de Engayn de toto tenemento Ricardi filii Petri de Terynton in minori Stanwey, fol. 144. 53.

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35. Carta Johannis de Burgo de tribus acris terræ, et 1 acr. Prati, et de communi pastura ad lxxx. oves in villa de Lexenden et de Stanwey, fol. 146.
36. Testificatio regis Edwardi quod appropriamus terras in Stanwey et Wrangle ante statutum et edictum super mortua manu, fol. 148.
37. Carta Warini filii Geroldi de terra in Wethersfeld anno Domini cc.xjmo, fol. 149.
38. Carta Thomæ de Alerby de particula bosci sui in villa de Wethersfeld, fol. 152.
39. Carta domini Johannis de Crakehall de redditu unius marcae in Lamborn ad Pitanciam, fol. 154.
40. Carta Domini Roberti fil. Rogeri de Stokesby, fol. 157.
41. Carta Johannis de Levertun de advocacione ecclesiæ ejusdem villæ, fol. 159.
42. Confirmatio Presentationis ecclesiæ de Levertune episcopi Lincolnien., fol. 161.
43. Carta Roberti de Valonia de ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum de Hertforde, fol. 162.
44. Carta Walteri Lincolnien. episcopi de ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum de Hertforde, fol. 163.
45. Confirmatio capituli Lincoln. ecclesiæ de eccl. Omnium Sanctorum in Hertforde, fol. 164.
46. Carta Julianæ dominæ de Sudecamps de ecclesia ejusdem villæ, fol. 167.
47. Carta domini Galfridi Eliensis episcopi de ecclesia de Sudecamps, fol. 168.
48. Confirmatio capituli Elien. de ecclesia de Sudecamps, fol. 171.
49. Taxatio vicariæ ecclesiæ de Sudecamps confirm. at domino Galfrido Eliens. episcopo, fol. 172.
50. Cirographum inter nos et Willielmum de Snepwell anno regis Henrici fil. regis Johannis tertio de advocacione eccl. de Sudecamps, fol. 174.
51. Carta regis Edwardi de terris perquisitis apud campos post statutum religiosarum de terr. ad manum mortuam non ponendis, fol. 177.
52. Carta Galfridi de scalaris de ecclesia de Badburgham, fol. 179.
53. Carta Eustachii Eliensis episcopi de eccl. de Badburgham, fol. 181.

54. Carta Capituli Eliens. de eadem ecclesia, fol. 183.
55. Carta Hugonis episcopi Eliensis de ecclesia, et taxatione vicariæ de Badburgham, fol. 184.
56. Sequestratio fructuum ecclesiæ de Badburgeham, et Paroch. reddiderunt compot. ad valores ix^{li}. ix^s. vij. coram commissar. Eliensis, fol. 187.
57. Carta Rogeri de Gaist de ecclesiæ de Kateram, fol. 190.
58. Carta Willielmi episcopi Wintoniensis de ecclesia de Katerham, fol. 192.
59. Confirmatio capituli Winton ecclesia de Katerham, fol. 195.
60. Compositio facta inter nos et vicar. de Caterham ratificata per dominum archidiac. Surrye A.D. m.cccxxxiiij^{to}, fol. 199.
61. Carta Willielmi de Dreitune de ecclesia de Skervynge, fol. 210.
62. Institutio nostra de Skervynges per episc. Johannem, fol. 211.
63. Confirmatio Johannis Norwicens. episcopi de ecclesia de Skervynges, fol. 212.
64. Confirmatio capituli Norwicensis de eadem ecclesia, fol. 214.
65. Taxatio vicariæ ecclesiæ de Skervynge, fol. 216.
66. Carta Everardi de ecclesiis de Geist et Northune, fol. 217.
67. Donatio Johannis episcopi Norwices. de ecclesiis nobis collatis a domino Everardi de Geiste, fol. 219.
68. Confirmatio capituli Norwicensis de ecclesiis de Gaiste et Gaisthorpe, fol. 221.
69. Taxatio eccl. de Gaiste et de Gaisthorpe, fol. 225.
70. Carta Johannis Salisber episcopi de ecclesia de Windesor, fol. 227.
71. Confirmatio capituli Sar. de ecclesiis de Windsores, fol. 229.
72. Confirmatio regis Henrici III. de ecclesiis de Windesor, Hertford, Alricheseye, et Nasyng, fol. 233.
73. Carta Roberti de Lamborne de ecclesia Lamb., fol. 236.
74. Carta Ric. fil. Roberti de ecclesia Elfhamston, fol. 237.
75. Carta Ric. fil. Ricardi de ecclesia de Elfmostune, fol. 239.
76. Confirmatio Ricardi episc. London. ecclesiar. de Elfelmestone et de Lamborne, fol. 240.
77. Confirmatio Will. Lond. episc. de eisdem ecclesiis, fol. 243.
78. Sententia diffinitiva contra Personam de Lamborne super xl^s. de annua penc., fol. 246.
79. Sententia diffinitiva contra Personam de Elfemestone, fol. 254.
80. Licentia appropriandi manerium de Theydon, Boys cum confirmatione cartæ Johannis de Tany, fol. 267.

81. Concessio et quieta clamatio domini Antonii episcopi Dunolm de Theydon nobis facta, fol. 271.
82. Quieta clamatio domini Ricardi rectoris ecclesiæ de Lamborne de manerio de Theydon Boyes, fol. 272.
83. Licentia domini regis Edwardi de triginta libris terræ appropriandis, fol. 274.
84. Licentia domini regis Edwardi de impetrand, tenement. in de Newhall in Ware, fol. 276.
85. Carta domini Johannis de Hengham clerici de ten. suo de Newhall in Ware, fol. 279.
86. Breve domini regis direct. dom. Rogero extraneo justiciar de Foresta pro parco de Nasinge claudendo, fol. 281.
87. Licentia regis Edwardi claudendi boscum nostrum de Nasyng, fol. 286.
88. Carta regis Henrici facta Ricardo filio Aucheri de balliva forestar dimid. hund. de Waltham, fol. 288.
89. Carta regis E. facta Auchero fil. Henr. quod possit dare et concedere Johanni Shardelowe et hæred. suis ballivam forestar. in dim. hund. de Waltham, fol. 292.
90. Quieta clamatio Bartholomei Langriche facta Johanni Shardelowe mil. et Johannæ uxori ejusdem de forestar dimid. hundr. de Waltham, fol. 295.
91. Licentia domini regis E. facta Henrico filio Aucheri quod possit includere certum clausum suum ad elarg. parci sui de Coppedhall, fol. 297.
92. Carta de lic. regis Edw. III. de permutatione maneriorum de Coppedhall et Singelhall cum pertin. pro maneriis de Borham, Campes, et Horsseye, fol. 299.
93. Carta Johannis Sherdelowe et Johannæ ux. ejus et Thomæ fratris ejus de maneriis suis de Coppedhall et Shingelhall in escambium pro maneriis de Borham Sudecampes, et Horseye, fol. 302.
94. Carta quam fecimus domino Johanni Shardelowe et Johannæ ux. ejus, &c. de escambio pro maneriis de Coppedhall et Shingelhall, fol. 305.
95. Finalis concordia de escambio isto, a^o. r. r. Edw. III. xxiiij^{to}, *ib*.
96. Quieta clamatio Johannis Sherdelow de maneriis de Copedhall et Shingelhall, fol. 311.
97. Licentia regis Ricardi Johanni Frosshe et Julianæ uxori ejus

- quod possint assignari A. et C. de Waltham forestarii dim. hund. de Waltham, fol. 313.
98. Finis levatus in curia regis inter Joh. Frosshe et Julianum ux. ejus fil. quondam Willielmi Langriche de forestaria dimid. hund. de Waltham, fol. 316.
99. Licentia Ricardi regis canonicis quod possint includere clxij. acras terræ de dominicis terris suis, et quondam venellam juxta Copedhall Parke in enlargementem Parcorum de Harroldes parke et Copedhall Parke, fol. 318.
100. Carta regis Hen. VI. super quandam inquisitionem coram escaetor. E. regis de terris, &c., sect. cur. Henr. fil. Aucheri de x^{li}. et dim. marc. et dim. lib. piperis et unum lib. cimini ejusdem in maneria de Magna Laufer in Essex per dom. W. abbatem, fol. 321.
101. Carta Joh. Morice facta N. abbati et conv. de redd. xx^{li}. de Halifeldhall, qui redd. assignatus est pro anniversario ejusdem N. abbatis, fol. 327.
102. Carta regis Ricardi de Halifeldhall in parochia de Waltham, fol. 329.
103. Licentia regis Ricardi ad ponend. ad manum mortuam manerium de Cullyngs concess. abb. et conv. de Waltham, fol. 333.
104. Carta indemnitatis regis Ricardi Secundi de uno corrodio voc. Loygorislyne et confirmat. per dominum Henricum Quartum, fol. 358.
105. Queta clamatio et acquietanc. Lodowici Fitzlewes de terris in Westhorndon voc. Maydeujedon, fol. 361.
106. Carta profirma de Provill in Eppinge, fol. 364.
107. Conventio inter abbatem et conventum de Waltham et Walterum fil. Roberti super quibusdam amerciamentis in Royden, fol. 373.
108. Cyrographum prioris et capituli hospitalis de Jerusalem de quodam loco molendini sui de Brokesborne, fol. 376.
109. Cyrographum de hospitio nostro in Gildeford, fol. 380.

At the end of this volume, the folios 382, 394, 407, 423, 427, and 430, are other deeds and indentures of the time of Abbot Fuller; the first three are concerning the manor of Stanstead Abbot, in Herts, exchanged with King Henry VIII. for the suppressed Priory of Blackmore, with some of its posses-

sions; that at folio 427 relating to the exchange of Copped Hall with King Henry VIII. for the farms called Cane Fields and woods at Pancras, in London, and the manor of Dame Elyns, in Little Warley, Essex.

DEEDS AND INDENTURES.

1. From folio 382 to 407 of this volume of MSS. is an agreement made between "or Soueigne lord the most excellent and puyant prynce kyng henry the eight, by the gce. of god Kyng of England, &c., and Robert, by the sufferance of god Abbot of the Exempt monastery of Waltham holy Crosse," etc. King Henry VIII., by this indenture, receives of the said abbot the manor of Stanstead Abbots, county Herts, together with all those lands and tenements called Joyses, a wood or park called Isney Park, with a tenement called Bower House, etc., lying in the towns of Stanstead, county Herts, and Royden, in the county of Essex. In exchange the king gave the abbot and his successors "in ffranke Almoigne for ev[er] the scite of the priory of Blackmore, county Essex, with the manor of Blackmore, and all its appurtenances, lying in the parishes and fields of Blackmore, Margaretting, Willinghall Bowells, Bromefield Shellowe Norton, Writtill, Southwelde, Keldon, and Standon, &c."

2. Folio 427 relates to an exchange made by the said King Henry of the farms called Canefields and woods at St Pancras, Kentishtowne, and the manor of Dame Elyns, in Little Warley, Essex, for the princely mansion of Copped Hall, *i.e.* :

"Where the Reuent. ffather in god Robert, Abbot of the Exempt Monastery of Waltham Holy Crosse, in the county of Essex, and the convent of the same, as in the right of their sayde monastery stonde, and been seased in their demeane of fee of and in a steyne parke called Coppedhall pke., And of and in one place or mantyon house, with thapptennes, called Coppedhall house, sett and beyng wtin. the same pke., in the said countye of Essex, to the whiche pke. and mantyon house the kyng's highnes hath a synguler pleasure and affeccion to repare and resorte for the great consolacon and comforde of his moste Ryall pson. . . . ffor recompence, whereof our sayde

soueigne lorde ys conteyd and agreed that the sayde Abbot and Convent, and ther successors, shall have, holde, and enioye a steyne fferme called Cane ffields, and the Woode called Cane Woodes, sett, lying, and beyng in the pysshe. of seynt pancrace, Kentistowne, in the countye of Midd., And the mano^r of Dame Ellyns, lying in the pysshe. of lytyll Warley, in the County of Essex," etc.

3. Another exchange of lands and tenements made by King (dated July 10th, fourth of his reign) Henry VIII. with the Abbot of Waltham, folios 430-436:

"Robert Fuller, the Abbot, was then seased in the right of the Monastery of Waltham and the convent of the same, of one field called 'Crabtreefelde,' contaning 6 acrs., with a grove of wood 1 acr. and half; four crofts of arrable land called Sprotts, 6 acr., with a grove of one acre; 1 croft of arrable land called 'Yerdfelde,' 2 acr.; one field called 'Bedrepfelde,' 7 acr.; one hedgerow of wood adjoyning the same, 7 acs.; a croft called 'longe crofte,' 4 acrs., with a hedgerow on the south, 4 acrs.; three crofts called 'Comberton,' 3 acrs.; eight acres and half of meadow land called 'hoberds hatche,' 7 acre; two fields called 'Cobfelds,' xiv. acrs., with two hedgerows to the two fields, xii. acrs. And certain lands by Coks lane, which one 'Thomas heyne holdyth, that ys to says,' one piece called 'highfelde,' 3 acrs. and an half; a field called 'Mageffelde,' 4 acrs., with a hedgerow, 1 acr., in the parish of Waltham Holy Cross. Also, one grove of wood called 'Ptriche-grove,' v. acrs.; one close adjoyning the same, 2 acrs.; another close of arrable land near the same grove, 2 acrs.; one croft called 'Jaks,' 2 acrs.; one field called great 'Chissells,' xx. acrs.; a grove of wood called 'Busshey-hyll,' 8 acrs.; three acres of meadow land adjoyning, called 'the hoopes;' one grove next to 'Brode-lane,' 3 acrs.; one acre next to 'Gladwyns meade;' one grove of wood, 8 acres, 'betweyn the sayde meads and Coks in Upshire, in the pysshe. of Walthm.' . . . 'Whiche in the hole amounten to the number of clxxxiii. acres, whiche sayde pmisses. dou adioyne and lye nere to the man. or Pke. of Coppedhall,' &c. Which lands, groves, &c., the abbot and convent 'at the contemplacion and desier of our sayde soueigne lord, arr contentyd to eschange to and wth our sayde soueigne lorde,' &c., for other lands, &c., lying and being in the parish of Waltham, viz., three closes of arrable land called 'Vuder-Speremans,' 7 acres,

with 2 acrs. of 'woode in one hedgerowe' adjoyning; four crofts called 'Nether Speremans,' xiii. acrs. ; four crofts arrable land called 'ffotts,' xiii. acrs. ; one acre of arrable land in the common field called 'manlond;' three acres of 'meadowe' in Tunmeade; one croft called 'Rosecroft,' 2 acrs. ; one croft of meadow, 1 acr. and half; one close of pasture land, 3 acrs. ; another croft of arrable land, vii. acrs. ; one acre and a 'rode' of meadow in 'horse-grasse;' one acre, late in tenor of Thomas Clenden; one tent abutting upon the pysshe. churche in Walthm, whiche sayde acres of lond, meadowe wood, and pasture done amount to the number of lxiiij. acres and thre rodes,' which were purchased of Thomas Robts, gent., and Thomas Gladwyn. Also, by our sayde soueigne lorde, by his patents, and under his seale, datyed the tenth day of July, in the fourth yere of his reigne, dyd demyse, lett, and comytt unto George Harp, Alexander Culpep, and Constance, his wyffe, fforty acrs. of lond, thirty-six acres of woode, with appurt. in ffysshhyde, in the said county of Essex, which late were John Enffelde, then dede; which premises at the tyme of the date of the same lres. patents were, and yet been, in the hands of our sayde soueigne lorde as an eschet, by reason that the sayde John Enffelde dyed seasyd of the same, . . . yeldyng and paying yerely 'to the king,' xii^a., and on and above the same xii^d. yerely duryng the same xl. yeers of increase, at two tymes of the yere, to be payde, &c., whiche sayde prmises last before reheresyd in Walthm Holy Crosse and ffysshhyde aforesayde, o' soueigne lorde ys well pleasyd of his moste blissyd dispocon and benygnyte, to gyve to the sayde abbot and convent, and to ther successours, in full recompence and satisfaccon of all the sayde londs, meadowes, woods, &c., whiche the kyng's highnes, by auctoryte of this act, shall have in exchange of the sayde abbot and convent," &c.

At the dissolution of the monastery of Waltham, the abbots possessed two "gospels in the Saxon tongue;" these would be deemed exceedingly valuable in the present day. They are mentioned in the inventory of Waltham Holy Cross, dated March 24, 31 Henry VIII. (see also Invent. 172, date 1538, Augmentation Office): "A Gospler of the Saxon Tongue, havynge thone syde plated with sylver parcell gilte with ye ymage of Cryst;" "An another Gospler of the Saxon Tonge, with the Crusifixe and Mary and John, havyng a naked man

holdyng up his hands of sylver gilte." In the same Inventory there are three other "Gosplers," one being adorned with "the ymage of Cryste with the iiij. Evangelysts," and another "havyng the crufixe, Mary and John in the myddes, and ij. Teth," probably the teeth of some canonised saint of the Romish Church.

There are several other valuable MSS. in the British Museum which contain historical matter respecting Waltham and its monastery—see Harleian MSS. 1850, 6748, 6839, 6853, 6705; Cottonian MSS. Claud. D. ii. (*Charta foundationis abbatiæ de Waltham per R. Henricum I.*), Nero, C. iii., fol. 182*b* (*Charta Ric. I.*, 1194).

The parish registers of births, marriages, and deaths are well bound, and in excellent condition. The first volume commences in June 1563.

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BUCKLAND ABBEY AND SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

By SYDNEY ROBJOHNS, Esq.,

*Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and Member of the Literary and
Historical Society of Quebec.*

THE mariners of the sixteenth century are no exception to the rule that the biography of great men illustrates the period in which they lived. Francesco Pizarro might have been a cowherd at Seville for ever, instead of a viceroy at Lima, for any value attaching to his biography to the student of European politics ; but he and Cortez, Cartier, Hawkins, Drake, and many another, marked an epoch in the history of maritime adventure, namely, the period which witnessed the union of science and enterprise—a union enabling the sailor to navigate his bark into the wide and unknown seas, where no landmark points the course—a union which gave to civilisation another world. The Phœnician groping his way, hugging the land along the shores of Africa and Spain, and shooting across the channel, with the sun and stars alone to steer by, until he touched the lonely but rich shores of the Cassiterides, was a mariner of equal daring with those who, westward ho ! set sail for the Spanish Main ; but, with an increase of knowledge, there had been discovered a new world—a world that, without the sensitive needle, and the discovery of the fact that it was ever true to its magnetic principle, true as the star to which the sailor from Tyre had in his day attached his faith—and for the subduing of that world it was necessary there should be a new departure, not in enterprise, for that was conspicuous in the earth's central sea, but a union of scientific knowledge with the enterprise and energy common to all young nations—at least to all nations which have made their

mark in the world, and left the impress of their life upon time's honourable records.

In an eminent degree the far-famed sailor Francis Drake represented the knowledge and adventure which were united in the sailors of that century. Following Columbus, he widened the field beyond the discovery of his predecessors; and it is in his character of the great sea-dog of his day, the explorer of entirely new lands, that his memoir has for us the interest attaching to the men who, while so thoroughly practical and prosaic in their life, have left behind them the halo of romance—the romance that is associated with novelty, mystery, and wealth. His way was on the sea—the ocean alike his home in life, his grave in death—but while we must not pass too briefly the story of his maritime wanderings, the associations of his birthplace and residence are also full of interest.

Francis Drake was born at Crowndale, near Tavistock, "that fruitful seedplot," as Prince calls it, "of famous and eminent men;" a town which, from earliest days, has been romantic in story and illustrious in name. A former vicar of the parish, the late Mr Bray, himself a distinguished antiquary, quaintly and fancifully associated the birthplace of Drake with the well-known story of King Edgar and the fair but frail Elfrida, daughter of Orgar, Earl of Devon. The king, hearing of the Devonshire maiden's beauty, sent Earl Ethelwold, "that if the pearl proved so orient, it should be seized for his own wearing, intending to make her a queen:" but Ethelwold, bearing out the axiom inculcated by Miles Standish, that if you would have it well done, you'd better do it yourself, married the girl, and told the king that, while good enough for an earl, she was scarcely so fair as to become the royal dignity. Subsequently the king, however, saw her for himself; and putting Ethelwold out of the way in a mode more expeditious than accords with modern prejudices, he wedded her; and she became the mother of Ethelred the Unready. By a great stretch of fancy, Mr Bray associated the lovely queen with the pretty little valley where Drake first saw the light:

" Fired by her charms, that far outshone renown,
 Edgar, on Tavy's banks, his kingly crown
 Laid at Elfrida's feet as beauty's mead ;
 And does not Crowndale still attest the deed ?"

From the mullioned windows of the house in which he was born might almost have been seen the towers and castellated parapets of the aforetime abbey of Tavistock. That ancient, rich, and influential monastery, noble in virtue of the peerage of Hardwick, attached to its abbacy, had then recently been bestowed upon the Russell family, by whom, in the person of the Duke of Bedford, it is held to this day. The head of the house at the period to which we refer was one Sir Francis Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford ; and that gentleman, reflecting honour upon the infant Drake in standing sponsor for him at the font, was in after-years honoured by the association of his name with the most eminent sailor of his or any other time. Sir Francis Russell, it would seem, was a man of kindly disposition, the gracious act referred to attests that ; and his genial nature was inherited by his successor, the second earl, of whom Queen Elizabeth was wont to merrily complain that he made all the beggars. It was well for him that charity organisation and mendicity suppression were institutions of a later day than that in which he lived !

Some old chroniclers, including Stowe and Camden, have described Drake's father as a mariner, and misnamed him Edmond ; but the evidence is conclusive that his name was Robert, and that he was, though not in holy orders, a preacher without preferment in the Reformed Church. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* only recently fell into the error of describing the elder Drake as a mariner. He was the third son of John Drake of Otterton, near Ottery Saint Mary, in all probability a pillow-lace maker. In after-years, Francis Drake—an antitype of Garibaldi at the Tiber—offered to make his native town a seaport, it is presumed by cutting a canal to the Tamar, a work since accomplished ; but one can scarcely imagine a mariner in those days having a fixed residence fourteen miles from the sea, and that too in a house

which then must have been pretentious in comparison with the thatched hovels of the peasantry. Robert Drake's subsequent career, moreover, pointedly indicates the sacred nature of his calling. Upon the promulgation of the Six Articles of Henry VIII., "the whip with six tails," and to avoid the penalties of non-subscription, an act scarcely required of an illiterate and irresponsible mariner, ere his son Francis was a year old, he fled from Devon, and withdrew himself into Kent; "for," to again quote the author of "The Worthies of Devon," "the sting of Popery still remained in England, though the teeth thereof were knocked out, and the pope's supremacy abolished." There he lived with his twelve sons in the hull of a stranded ship, for he was very poor; and there it was that good fortune, or rather God's providence, found him in the reign of the Virgin Queen. He received an appointment to read prayers in the navy; and subsequently, being ordained a deacon, we are told that he was presented to the vicarage of Upnore church, on the Medway. A captious critic might very properly object that there was no church at Upnore, but as the fact of the presentation is explicitly stated, the reasonable presumption is, that he was first appointed to a readership in the navy, and then to a chaplaincy at Upnore Castle, an edifice erected by Queen Elizabeth, the said chaplaincy being subject to the living of Frindsbury, the church of which parish, in which Upnore is situated, was founded in the twelfth century.

The date of Drake's birth has been variously stated. The portrait by Cornelius Jansen, in the drawing-room at Buckland Abbey, a copy of which, by Lady Arthur Russell, adorns the public hall at Tavistock, fixes the date at 1541; but a miniature, now in the possession of Earl Derby, indicating 1539 as the famous sailor's natal year, is the more credible. The Six Articles were promulgated in that year; and, allowing for the summons to sign them taking some time to reach persons resident in remote country districts, the act of disobedience and consequent flight from Devon of Robert Drake, would occur when the youngest lad then born was about

twelve months old, as recorded. If 1541 be accepted as correct, then to Kent and not to Devon is due the honour of being Drake's birthplace.

The parson gave his children the only fortune he had to bestow—a fairly good education, an inheritance he himself had probably received from the gentle and pensive lace-worker of Otterton. While yet a mere child, the boy Frank began the world as an apprentice on board a small bark which traded to France and Zealand, and, it is said, so great were the daring and enterprise of those days, that the tiny tub ventured once even across the Atlantic to the West Indies. On the decease of the master of the little bark, the youth, after the manner of the conventional good apprentice, became sole legatee, a fortune, however, which he quickly ventured and quickly lost.

A kinsman of his was John Hawkins, afterwards admiral Sir John Hawkins, one of those who were knighted on the high seas by Lord Charles Howard for valour displayed in the engagement with the Spanish Armada; a man whose gentle birth indicates that Drake too was not of the extremely humble nativity frequently assumed. Captain Hawkins was the son of William Hawkins, Esq., of Plymouth, by his wife Joan, daughter of William Trelawny, Esq., of Cornwall, one of the illustrious family, whom to mention is to recall to memory numberless noble, gallant, and historic deeds. A rough and ready sailor was this said John Hawkins; and the pride with which he bore his crest, "a demi-Moor, in his proper colour, bound with a cord," the shameful emblem of a cruel and iniquitous trade, rather denotes the sentiment of the period than any unusual degree of coarseness in the individual. The trade was carried on under a treaty made between Henry VIII. and Charles V., and, as a source of some adventure and much gain, was dear to the soul of Captain John Hawkins. It has been claimed for him that to his goodwill and purse Drake owed his advantages of education; but whether that was the fact or not, the lad, while yet young, came under his kinsman's training.

The little bark of the apprentice was sold, and on a day in the year 1567, after much preparation, these two, in a joint venture, set out from Plymouth Sound; and so the curtain rises upon the first scene of which we have trustworthy record in the eventful drama, the life of Sir Francis Drake.

Reverting to the subject of Hawkins's crest, I must quote Fuller, a divine of whom it is well said :

"He is the wittiest of writers, and at the same time one of the most sensible. A very sweet-blooded wholesome man; and, if piety were generally united with as much good humour, it would be all the better for the Church."

In his essay on "The Good Sea Captain," he says :

"In taking a prize, he most prizeth the men's lives whom he takes, though some of them may chance to be negroes or savages. It is the custom of some to cast them overboard, and there is an end of them, for the dumb fishes tell no tales. But the murder is not so soon drowned as the men. What! is a brother by false blood no kin? A savage hath God to his father by creation, though not the Church to his mother; and God will revenge his innocent blood. But our captain counts the image of God nevertheless His image cut in ebony as if done in ivory, and in the blackest of Moors he sees the representation of the King of heaven."

How far Fuller's hero worship misled him in citing Drake as an illustration of this particular excellence will be seen, but Fuller's theory of the brotherhood of man indicated a change of public sentiment even in his time.

In that same year of 1567, following the ship's wake of our sailors, Hawkins and his lieutenant, there is presented to our view a fine harbour and a newly-settled town on the Spanish Main. The town is Saint Juan de Ulloa, in which are clustered the rude and comfortless quarters of soldiers and factors; and conspicuous and more luxurious as they are more pretentious, there are a Government House and the treasury of His Most Christian Majesty the King of Spain. In that splendid anchorage lie six English ships, put in under stress of weather, and a number of large Spanish men-of-war. In

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the former, between decks, are three hundred, or rather the remnant of three hundred sweltering negroes, kidnapped in Guinea and Sierra Leone, and brought all the way from the terrors of cruel and bloodthirsty rival tribes into subjection under the no less tyrannical though civilised grandees of Spain. These slavers constitute the fleet of John Hawkins, with whom, in command of the "Judith," is Francis Drake; who, Dr Fuller to the contrary, staked the last penny derived from the sale of his channel bark in this venture of traffic in blood. It is not a pleasant record to indite, but let us make some allowance for the man in regard to the time in which he lived, and the public sentiment then prevailing. As the Englishmen take shelter there, a large Spanish fleet makes the harbour with six or seven millions of treasure in transport, but not to anchor until gallant John Hawkins gives them leave—their own port, mind you!—and his Excellency the Viceroy of Mexico, *in transitu* to his vice-royalty, sitting in state at Government House, thereupon, with a smile on his polite and treacherous face, executes a treaty, agreeing to trade with the English captain, and the ships of Spain glide to their anchorage, ostensibly allies, but really rivals to her Britannic Majesty's slave catchers. The Spanish representative of royalty had heard something from Rio de la Hacha, where Hawkins, upon being refused permission to trade, had brought the place down about the governor's ears, a mode of effecting commercial relations more expeditious than that of international treaty, though perhaps not so permanent a means of maintaining mercantile intercourse and exchange. While the English are receiving and paying visits of courtesy, extending and receiving hospitality, and exchanging human flesh for ship's stores, the viceroy prepares a *coup de main*. Troops are ferried to an island at the mouth of the harbour; and when the idea at last dawns on Captain Hawkins that the shipping and the small craft on the sea, and the military on shore, are particularly and suspiciously busy, the fatal stroke falls. Of the daring little fleet of England, the "Minion" and the "Judith" alone escape to sea. Job Hortop, one of the sea-

men, who left an account of this affair, states that when the "Generall," *i.e.*, admiral, as he would be designated now, saw the attack of the Spaniards upon the "Minion," he, "with a loude and fierce voyse, called unto us, saying, 'God and Saint George! Upon these traiterous villaines and rescue the "Minion;" I trust in God the day shall be ours!'" Hawkins with the "Minion," and Drake separately in the "Judith," reached home, but at the loss of all their venture. The curse of the traffic followed Hawkins until he stepped ashore in St Michael's Bay, for he himself said, if all the miseries and troublesome affairs of this voyage were faithfully written, there would need a painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he that wrote the lives of the martyrs; and in reporting his arrival "to the Right Honourable Sir William Cycylle, Knighte and Principall Secretarie to the Queen's Majestie"—which act of notification, I presume, implied official sanction to the expedition—he wrote, "But yf I shold wryt of all our calamitytes, I am seure a volome as great as the byble wyll scarselie suffice."

The effect of failure on Drake was disastrous and galling, but not utterly disheartening. One result it had was to re-shape such theological ideas as he held, for like most sailors of that time he was eminently pious after a fashion, though, like those of our day, rather given to swearing. His ghostly adviser, the chaplain of the fleet, demonstrated the proposition clearly. The King of Spain's subjects had undone Mr Drake. *Ergo*, Mr Drake was entitled to take the best satisfaction he could on the subjects of the King of Spain, or even on his Christian Majesty himself. *Quod erat demonstrandum*. The consistency of Drake in conforming to his new creed was exemplary, for few, as it has been said, are such infidels as not to believe doctrines which make for their own profit.

"And now let us see how a dwarf, standing on the Mount of God's Providence, may prove an overmatch for a giant."

In July 1572.—The scene—Nombre de Dios, at that time what Porto Bello subsequently became, the granary of the Spanish Main. It was a small place then, consisting of about

thirty rude houses only, and even these were deserted out of the season ; but, small as it was, at the date named it was the depôt of much treasure. Before it lay three little ships, the "Pacha," of 70 tons, the "Swan," of 25 tons, and another bark of something less—think of their pluck in those days!—the soul of Samuel Plimsoll transmigrated from no man of that age—severally commanded by the brothers Francis and John Drake and Captain Rawse.

Away at Port Pheasant Drake had landed and read a note scratched on a brass plate attached to a tree by his friend Captain Garret of Plymouth. "Captain Drake," it said, "if you fortune to come into this port, make haste away, for the Spaniards which you had with you here last year have betrayed this place, and taken away all that you left here. I departed hence this present 7th July 1572.—Your loving friend, JOHN GARRET." But Drake was not so easily frightened, and fortunately so, for while he and his men were refreshing themselves there, Captain James Rawse of Cowes arrived, and he, together with Lopez Vaz, a Portuguese pilot taken on board a prize, joined our hero in the expedition against Nombre de Dios. Leaving their ships and part of their crews in the open, they in the night made for an island fort near the town, and, leaving some of the men to secure the retreat, Drake with the remainder rowed to the landing. He told them of the Spanish hoards, and declared that he had brought them to the mouth of the world's treasure-house, and if they did not gain it they had but themselves to blame. John Drake and John Oxenham, a brave man but a weak one in the love he bore a Spanish lady, which involved him in ruin, were ordered to storm the treasury door, which they did, and found therein masses of silver, according to Prince, 70 feet long by 10 feet wide and 12 feet deep, and bars of 35 and 40 lbs. weight. But the Spaniards were upon them, and in a great fight in the market-place, Drake was wounded and the bugler killed, for he, instead "of saving his neck like a Christian, stood braying like an ass." The General fought gallantly, but eventually fainting through loss of blood from a

wound in his leg of three fingers' width, was carried to the shore by his brother, Oxenham, and others, for what was the loss of silver compared with the loss of such a captain, "of whom Heaven never makes but one at a time." On the shore another disappointment awaited them. The men at the fort, failing to hear the concerted signal—for the bugler, as we have seen, was dead—fled to the ships, deeming all was lost. Truly a day of disaster and disappointment, and not an ingot of silver to console them. It was, however, a famous fight; and in a few days a Spanish "highdaldo" called and complimented Drake upon doing so much with so small a force. The English captain received his visitor courteously, and, in reply to an inquiry, assured him that Englishmen did not poison their arrows as if they were savages, and that he might depart free of anxiety in regard to the Spaniards wounded in the combat.

Disappointed again, the never-despairing one departed to Rio de Grand and Carthagena, taking Spanish ships in the way, at which places he sought to cultivate the friendship of the Symérons, the Indians of Darien, to whom, with the rough piety of that period, he taught the Lord's Prayer. Leaving his ships and taking to the road, to use an expression savouring rather of Hampstead Heath, Drake captured Venta Cruz, and sought to intercept a "recoes," or train of mules, coming from Panama with untold wealth, the produce of that golden land; but in this project, too, he was doomed to disappointment, as if on him "unmerciful disaster would follow fast and follow faster." Lying in the tall grass among the trees, the English heard the tinkle of the bells which encircled the beasts' necks; and anon a gaily-caparisoned steed, with a rider in richly-wrought armour, dashed by, unmindful of the ambush into which his charge was falling. It was a moment of tremulous excitement for the concealed foe; and a splendid capture might have been effected but for the drunken bravado of Robert Pike, a Tavistock man. Ignorant of the existence of the English in those parts, the apparition of a single enemy challenging him to fight, was to the Spanish officer as one

from the dead, or as a device of the devil; but quickly realising the situation, he, not deigning to reply to that vain-glorious one, with a turn of his wrist wheeled his horse round and hastened to halt the convoy. Another disappointment! Surely enough to break the spirit of even a man like Drake! Truly; but something brighter than silver was bracing his courage and urging him onward, to wit, the sheen of the great Pacific. Day by day they pressed forward, longing with an intense yearning for a glimpse of that southern sea; and "on the twelfth day," says one old chronicler, "we came to the height of the desired hill (lying east and west like a ridge between two seas) about ten of the clock, where the chiefest of the Symerons took our captain by the hand and prayed him to follow him. Here was that great high tree in which they had made divers steps to ascend near the top, where they had made a convenient bower, wherein ten or twelve men might easily sit; and from this we might see the Atlantic Ocean we came from, and the South Atlantic so much desired. South and north of this tree they had felled certain trees, that the prospect might be the clearer. After our captain had ascended to this bower with the chief Symeron, and having, as it pleased God, at this time by reason of the breeze a very fair day, had seen that sea of which he had heard such golden reports, he besought of Almighty God of His goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea; and then calling up all the rest of our men, acquainted, John Oxenham especially, with this petition and purpose, if it should please God to grant him that happiness."

The scene and the incident were intensely solemn; and we imagine Drake, like Cortez, gazing upon that sea, lost in a dream, unutterably grand, unspeakably splendid in result—

"Then felt he like some watcher of the skies,
When a new planet swims into his ken;
Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific—and all his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise—
Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

Through many adventures these brave ones returned to their ships, just half-an-hour, no more, in advance of three hundred Spaniards sent to attack them. While the anchor was being weighed, the captain presented to his friend, the Symeron cacique, the jewelled cutlass he wore, which the semi-savage, regarding with greedy eyes, gratefully and joyously accepted. Then all sail for Plymouth Sound, which welcome haven they gained on Sunday, August 9, 1573, and so the act-drop falls upon another scene.

With three stout ships, Drake accompanied Walter, Earl of Essex, to Ireland; and on the suppression of the insurrection his name was mentioned to the queen by his good friend and patron, Sir Christopher Hatton. Her Majesty received him graciously, and gave her secret approval to another expedition, though at the moment Spain and England were upon amicable terms. The perfidy that is in woman's blood! She also presented a sword to him, saying, "We do account that he who striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us." With a royal arm of offence, and the benison of a woman, Drake set out on that great voyage, which, encircling the world, gave him a name extending to all time. Thus, in the palace of a queen the curtain rises upon our third act, the whole of which, though so eventful, must be depicted with but a few rough strokes of a blunt pen.

At that time a superstition prevailed that the Southern Sea was closed against Europeans by a Providential edict; and the strange fatality that attended mariners who attempted its navigation gave intensity to the popular delusion. Magellan was slain by savages; Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the first European who saw the Southern Sea, was killed by his own countrymen, another example of the dishonour attaching to native prophecy; De Solis was murdered at Rio de la Plata; and De Lope, who saw the Straits of Magellan from the topmast of Magellan's ship, worse than all, says an old writer, turned Mohammedan. How it fared with Francis Drake, tempest tossed on the bosom of the so-called peaceful sea, we shall discern. He, doubtless, was no less superstitious than

the rest of his countrymen—and to this day the belief in white witches, ghosts, and signs and omens, is rife in the rural districts of the west where he was born—but in his case superstition was secondary to shrewd common sense, a fearlessness that was the temerity of Eden before man's first disobedience, and withal a piety of a good manly sort, though piety stained by deeds more accordant with sea divinity than with our modern and more enlightened ideas of moral rectitude.

From the *salon* of a palace the scene shifts to the lonely shores of Port St Julian, so named by Magellan, where, grim and ghastly against the sky, are seen gibbets upon which hang the bleached skeletons of despairing, and therefore mutinous sailors, conspirators against the autocrat, the great navigator Magellan himself. In the friendly shelter Drake's fleet lies at anchor, after a long and tedious, but not profitless voyage. In December 1577, ostensibly bound for Alexandria in the peaceful pursuit of commercial exchange, it had set out from Plymouth Sound, the crews themselves ignorant of their real destination, and now here they are at the gate of the Southern Sea. The fleet was a ridiculous one from our modern point of view, consisting of the "Pelican," 100 tons burthen; the "Elizabeth," 80; "Swan," 50; Christopher, 15; and the "Marigold," 30; and the "Benedict," a pinnacle of 12 tons, accompanied the "Elizabeth" as tender; and, besides, there were four pinnaces stowed away in parts for the purpose of navigating shallow streams, though the river must have been a shallow one indeed, in which even the admiral's flagship could not float. On the Barbary coast, *en route*, they landed; but received, as they thought, an unfriendly welcome, and lost one good mariner. This man was carried off to the interior, to the court of King Muley Molock, a name highly suggestive to our ears of human sacrifice on an altar of fire, but turned up in Old Devon after a year or two, and duly astonished the rustic and even the urban residents of the county with many a yarn, hard to believe, of camels and other wonderful animals, and described in his rough but

detailed way the "barbaric splendour" and genial hospitality of his Majesty of Mogadore, whose object in making him an unwilling guest was merely to ascertain, presuming that the man was a Portuguese, the strength of the expedition then being fitted out against him by the Government of Lisbon, a government at that time affiliated to that of Madrid. To contend with the Crown of Portugal was to combat the mighty Don himself, and Muley Molock was naturally anxious. Leaving Africa, Drake fell in with a Portuguese merchantman bound for the Brazils, which he made a prize; but the value of the capture was less a material one than important in its effect on the promotion of the enterprise of ploughing the Southern Sea, for on board that vessel was one Nuno de Silva, a pilot of Portugal, and this man, upon being pressed into the English service, did his duty right loyally. De Silva shared Drake's fortunes in many a tempest and through much perplexity, and we are indebted to his singularly observant mind and graphic pen for one of the most trustworthy and interesting records of this voyage. Crossing "the line," the men of the fleet being sustained by rain from heaven, dolphins, flying fish, and bonitos, they made the Brazilian coast, from which fires blazed, kindled by the natives as a charm against the evil ones—evil in the sense Plutonian—they presumed the Englishmen to be. Anchoring at the Río de la Plata, the river was explored, good sport obtained, and huge human footprints were traced in the sand and soft soil, which last surprised them not a little, and caused the timid ones to tremble greatly. They were the footprints of painted Indians, gigantic in stature, but so far gentle that the Englishmen subsequently traded with them. The Patagonians here were at first friendly, one of the chiefs, upon being presented with a cap, thrusting an arrow through his own leg in token of fidelity; but, like the children they were, they became jealous of the superior skill of the English bowmen; and on a day Mr Winter, Oliver the gunner, and others, standing upon a cliff above the water's edge, contending with the Indians in friendly strife, Mr Winter made a joke, which the natives

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taking in earnest, a real fight ensued. Oliver was killed, and Winter mortally wounded. Drake arrived on the scene too late to save life, but seizing a musket he fired at the Patagonian whose arrow had slain Oliver, and with so much effect short of a fatal one, that the piece of painted humanity howled horribly, and his companions, gathering to the attack again, retreated to the woods, and the strangers gladly betook themselves to the shelter of their "wooden walls."

It was at this same Port St Julian that the affair of Mr Thomas Doughty occurred, an affair which has thrown a sombre tone over the character of Drake. What Mr Doughty's offence against his superior officer was is a matter of doubt; but he had been superseded in the command of one of the barks on the charge of misappropriation. On arrival at St Julian, he was put upon his trial, and on the conclusion the choice was given him of being left on the coast, to be returned to England for trial there, or to be executed on the spot. Mr Francis Fletcher, in his MS. in the British Museum, says the choice was not given to him, and that Doughty to the last denied all guilt in the matters set down to his charge. Be it as it may, the unfortunate man was executed. The principal witnesses against him were John Brewer, Edward Bright, and others, whose evidence was as far fetched as the indictment was curious. "More dangerous matter was laid to his charge," says Fletcher, "by the same persons, namely, for words spoken by him to them in the general's garden at Plymouth, which it had been their part and duty to have discovered them at the time, and not have concealed them for a time and place not so fitting." Mr Doughty was charged with being "an emulator of the glory" of his master, and this sounds sufficiently absurd to support the theory that Doughty was a prater against the Earl of Leicester, alleging that his lordship had plotted the secret murder of the Earl of Essex, and that Drake was willing to make away with so troublesome a man to oblige the former nobleman. This theory is patently fallacious, inasmuch as Drake and Doughty had both served under Essex in Ireland; and the former, like the latter, was too

much attached to that peer to do anything to his hurt, and were too much opposed to his rival Leicester to do anything honest in his behalf, not to mention a crime.

As was his wont, "the General" did not fail to make the solemn occasion of Mr Doughty's execution an opportunity for enjoining on his men religious observances. He urged them to unity, obedience, love, and regard, and invited them to partake of the communion the next Sunday following—"all which was done in very reverend sort, and so with good contentment every man went about his business." We presume the "good contentment" was consequent on the sacred duty, and not on the tragedy to which it was the sequel.

Doughty, Winter, and the gunner, were laid in the dust of an island in the harbour; and the fleet, reduced to three ships, left that "port accursed" in August 1578.

The superstition that no European could sail on the Southern Sea, like a good many others equally foolish and baneful, proved fallacious under the prowess of an Englishman, supplemented by the blessing of God's providence. On September 6, 1578, a notable day, Drake entered the Southern Sea in an English ship, passing through the strait in twelve days, a voyage which had taken others months to accomplish; and thus his prayer of long before, in the shadow of the great tree which commanded the two oceans, was fully and happily answered. On the event he re-christened his ship "Pelican," styling her the "Golden Hind," the crest of his friend and patron, Sir Christopher Hatton. A vestige of the "Pelican" remains, I believe, in a chair at the Bodleian Library, which was given to Oxford by Mr John Davies of Deptford.

The three ships of which the fleet consisted, upon emerging from the Straits of Magellan, soon parted company—the "Marigold" to drift into the great unknown waters, never to be heard of more; the "Elizabeth" to return to England, "full sore," wrote Edward Cliffe, a sailor on board—"full sore against the mariners' minds;" and the "Golden Hind" to follow the quest of the North-West Passage, a quest in which many as good men as Drake have failed, and the imprac-

ticability of which our recently-elected Honorary Fellow, Sir George Nares, has only now in these days fully established.

Northward the "Golden Hind" turned her bows, buffeted by storm and her crew often athirst, off the coast of Chili, and so to six leagues north of Valparaiso, the port of St Jago, where, supposing them to be Spaniards, Felipe, an Indian who knew the Spanish tongue, offered to pilot them to the said port, which offer being accepted, they fell in with the pretentiously styled "Grand Captain of the Southern Sea." On being overhauled she was found to contain £24,000 sterling (60,000 pesos) worth of gold, jewels, merchandise, and, most welcome, 1770 jars of Chili wine. The Spaniards of the town, nine families, fled, and the English recruited themselves with a feast of fresh bread, bacon, and other delicacies there in larder. On finishing their repast, the little chapel—the adjunct of every Spanish settlement—was pillaged of chalice, cruets, and altar cloth, which last was apportioned to the chaplain.

Here the captain discharged the Indian pilot Felipe with a present, and dismissed the crew of the Spanish prize they had captured, with the exception of one, a Greek, named Juan Griego. No apology is needed in giving the names of humble personages in this eventful history, for every one has the charm of romance to us who read the story now—each mariner was a hero, every voyage an exploit. Griego knew the coast well, and his knowledge qualified him to pilot them to Lima, the memorial of Pizarro's glory as the founder of an empire, the scene of his great tragedy. The adventurers set sail, and reaching Coquimbo, where they put together a pinnacle to explore the coast, they were beset by 300 Spanish cavalry and 200 infantry sent to intercept them; but with the loss of one man only, and he a braggart, they secured their safe retreat to sea. Incidents of sea and land crowd one's narrative. There is an Indian asleep with thirteen bars of silver at his side. The silver vanished, but the Indian slept on, the refreshing slumber of the just or of the weary. Further on an Indian lad and a Spaniard are encountered

in charge of a lama train with gold. The gold was diverted from its original destination. Like the whole story of the Spanish Main, of Mexico and Peru, the history is one of riches and adventure everywhere. It is even said they trod on gold, for every hundredweight of soil contained five ounces of the precious metal.

The news of the coming English was sent to the governor at Lima; but in those ante-telegraphic days the fast sailer arrived first, and beset the shipping at Callao, and took much treasure. The Spanish ships were dismantled and turned adrift—the cruel rebellion of mutinous Castilians, thought the governor. It never dawned on his proud brain that a few beggarly Englishmen would dare to navigate those seas. The trouble, whatever it was, however, attained alarming proportions, and thereupon his Excellency the Viceroy of Lima, Don Francesco de Toledo, repaired to the port with 2000 cavalry and foot soldiers; and two ships, each with a crew of 200 hands, put to sea to intercept the "Golden Hind." Most haste was least speed. The ships unprovisioned returned, and three others, fully victualled and equipped, were placed under the command of Pedro Sarmiento de Gambrá, and put to sea. But "a stern chase is a long chase," and so Don Pedro found it in this instance. In the rear of the "Golden Hind" were the Spanish pursuers, before her the "Cacafuego." On board this latter were a golden crucifix, in which was set "a goodly and great emerald," twenty-six tons of silver, thirteen chests of plate and eighty pounds of gold, besides diamonds and precious stones—a cargo all told worth £144,000 sterling (360,000 pesos). The magnetic attraction of the "Cacafuego" to the Englishmen was irresistible; and the stern chase became hour by hour a yet longer chase. Drake was supposed to be a viceroy's messenger by Juan de Anton, a Biscayan in command of the "Cacafuego;" and that able but fallible seaman slackened sail and allowed the English to board her without a fight. Dropping on Guatalco while a plaint against some Indians was being adjudicated, the English-

men made a clean sweep of judges, counsel, and prisoners, adjourning the whole court to the deck of the "Golden Hind." They were, however, finally again set on shore, and with them the Portuguese pilot, Nuno Silva, whom Drake had brought from Cape De Verd. Silva here wrote his history of the famous voyage to this point. The precious manuscript was sent by him to the Portuguese Viceroy of India, and long years afterwards it fell into the hands of an Englishman.

Still in pursuit of the Arctic passage homeward, in June Drake anchored in the harbour of the "Golden City," the "Queen of the Pacific," San Francisco.² A hundred years would elapse before the pious father, Juni Pero Serra, and his companions would enter these straits, and in aftertime receive the credit of being the first Europeans to press the Californian soil. These would found a little mission church, dedicated to St Francis of Assisi, at the south-west extremity of the bay, named by them Los Dolores, and attempt to teach the savages the arts of agriculture and manufacture; but at the time of Drake's visit the arts of peace were unknown, and the gently-disposed Indian of that region could smoke his tobacco with sufficient complacency, for, without the need of digging and delving, like a master of a western Eden, his wants were amply supplied by kind and bountiful nature. And a reference to the fragrant weed here suggests the problem of priority in introducing that herb of revenue into England, the honour being claimed for both Drake and Raleigh. The municipality of a Continental city have credited Drake with the introduction of the potato, and have erected a monument to record the fact. With that his admirers may well be content; but without trespassing on Raleigh's pretensions in relation to the weed of which, to quote Kingsley, there is no herb like it under heaven, it is probable that our hero first became acquainted with tobacco at this time and place, for it is recorded that the Indians were discovered smoking a weed which they called "tabah." However, the point is not an important one; and there is no doubt that both Drake and

Raleigh, whoever could claim priority, both introduced the weed into England at about this time. The reception of the Englishmen was cordial and stately; the king or chief and people formed a grand procession in honour of those who had come over "the big sea-water" to visit them; and his Majesty, recognising the greatness of the commander of the expedition, delegated to him his kingly office, and ceded to him his territory, which honour and endowment Drake accepted in the name of her Britannic Majesty. He called the territory New Albion, a fanciful designation of a part of that vast continent which is now literally "Greater Britain."

Still northward the explorers soon found themselves in the region of fog and ice; and quietly abandoning the quest of the North-West Passage, Drake steered his course westward, determining on reaching India. The instinct, as well as the knowledge of these early navigators, was as wonderful as it was quickly productive of result! After numberless difficulties and adventures, to recite half of which time would fail, they reached the Moluccas, where an Oriental and civilised influence was apparent in the ceremonial and appointments of the king and court.

On November 3d, at the solicitation of the Viceroy of Motir, whose island was under the sovereignty of the King of Tirnate, Drake anchored, and had the honour of receiving the king on board his ship. The dresses of the king and his courtiers were mostly "white lawn of cloth of Calicut," a fact not uninteresting to students resident in Manchester. The state barges, the court etiquette, all indicated high civilisation. Their religion was Mohammedan. Their presents included, said one of the Englishmen, "a sort of fruit they call sago, which is a meal made out of the tops of trees." Speeding on their way, they, off the coast of Borneo, I presume, struck a rock, and were well-nigh dashed to pieces. After many weary hours of labour, they found their efforts to clear the keel ineffectual. They had, it has been quaintly said, "ground too much, and yet too little to land on, and water too much, and yet too little to sail in;" but finally the ship was struck

abroadside by a great wave, and thus set free. The incident is more particularly noteworthy for the narration thereof by Fuller. "Then," said he, "they received the communion, dining on Christ in the sacrament, expecting no other than to sup with Him in heaven. . . . Then they betook themselves to their prayers, the best lever at such a dead lift." This was in January 1580. In March they were at Java, an island governed by five rajahs, who fought with each other, not with deadly steel, but in generous hospitality. Doubling the Cape of Good Hope, Plymouth was reached in September of the same year. There is a curious legend extant of Drake's wife, and the narrow escape he had of finding her the bride of another man. She, despairing of his return, after much solicitation, consented to marry again. In the midst of the marriage service, however, a cannon ball, projected from the antipodes, rent the chancel floor. The bride, of all there, was the one least moved by the unusual incident. "It is a signal of Drake," she said, "that he is yet alive, and I am still a wife. There must be neither troth nor ring between me and thee." And thus, when he came ashore, "the old warrior," as the peasantry still style Drake in the western country, found Dame Drake still his wife, and there ready to meet him.

In the spring of 1781, the queen graciously went in state to dine on board the "Golden Hind;" and after the banquet, conferred on the captain the honour of knighthood, saying, at the same time, that his actions did him more honour than the title she then bestowed upon him. On the occasion Drake would have assumed the arms of his kinsman, Sir Bernard Drake, but that gentleman's pride could brook no acknowledgment of a blood tie between his august self and a beggarly sailor and adventurer. Whereupon her Majesty gave Sir Francis a bran new heraldic device of her own designing—the arms sable, a fess wavy between two Pole stars argent. The crest, a ship under ruff, drawn round a globe with a cable-rope by a hand out of the clouds. The motto over was, "Auxilio Divino;" and under it, "Sic parvis magna." In the fulness of her wit, for Elizabeth was one of the few sovereigns

who could laugh on a throne and make a joke in spite of the ermine, the queen suspended in the rigging a wivern by the heels. A wivern was Sir Bernard Drake's crest. Like Mr Pynsent in "Pendennis," Sir Bernard "didn't see the fun."

In 1581, upon his return from this most famous voyage, Buckland Abbey was acquired by Sir Francis Drake. A writer of a generation afterwards referred to the purchase, and said :

"The abbey scite and demesnes was purchased by Sir Richard Grenville, whereon hee bwilt a fayre newe howse, and afterward sold it unto S^r Francis Drake, that famous traveller, w^{ch} made it his dwelling place ; and after (his) death, and the death of the Lady Elizabeth, his wief, daughter and heire of Sir George Sidenham of Comb Sidenham, in Somersetshire, w^{ch} both died wth out issue, hee left unto Thomas Drake, his brother, w^{ch}, by —, daughter of Moore of Moore, neere Tavistock, had issue Sir Barnard Drake, Baronet, w^{ch} nowe dwelleth there, and hath issue by (Joan) daughter of Sir Will^m Strode, Knt."

This account, however, is not strictly correct, at least it does not accord with other authorities. From these we gather that the abbey was granted, not sold, by Henry VIII., to Sir Richard Grenville of Stow, near Bideford, who most likely adapted the suppressed monastery to the purposes of a country gentleman's dwelling-house, and eventually sold it to John Hele and Christopher Harris, the heads of families still, I believe, represented in Plymouth, who, on their part, resold it to Sir Francis Drake. With the Protestant prejudice which his sea divinity had fostered to a degree unusual even in the age of Queen Elizabeth, Drake designated his property "Place Barton," in lieu of Buckland Abbey ; but the older nomenclature is that which now again obtains, and one might linger a long time in Plymouth ere they discovered the locality of "Place Barton." The latter style, however, is probably derived, as we shall see directly, from an ancient title. Sir Richard Grenville was one of a notable family conspicuous and illustrious at the courts of Henry and Elizabeth, and

one of the distinguished line of the first Sir Richard, who was a descendant of Hamon Dentatus, Earl of Carboyl, Lord of Thorigny and Granville in Normandy, a lineal descendant of the Norseman Rollo, and hence a kinsman of William the Conqueror. The first Sir Richard was a gallant man, and he, with his elder and childless brother Robert, and a dozen good knights beside, invaded South Wales, and overcame and slew Rees Ap Theodore, Prince of Wales, and Jestin, Lord of Glamorgan. Robert, as the senior, divided the conquest among his followers; and to Richard, his brother, apportioned the town and county of Neth, in Glamorganshire; which brother, in the piety of his heart, and for the good of his soul, gave his portion to God, founding a monastery, which was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, and devoted to monks of the Cistercian order.

The abbey at Buckland, like other monastic institutions, indicated the instinctive love of nature which influenced the early ecclesiastics in the selection of abbatial sites, and marked the value they attached to meteorological and productive qualities. The buildings were surrounded by rich arable and pasture lands, embowered in fine timber, and skirted by a river abounding in trout and salmon. The salmon weir, remaining to this day—a relic of that remote foundation—is an evidence of the friars' lenten observances; but, truth to say, those who have whipped the Tavy successfully below Denham Bridge feel that their sympathies reach not to those who fasted on such like fare as salmon and freckled trout, nor to those whose ante-Easter discipline and penance involved no more arduous task than this to snatch from

“the crystal rivulet, that o’er
A stormy channel rolls its rapid maze,”

its tribute in silvery fry.

Lingering here by the river for a moment, we note how numerous are the historical and archæological associations of the Tavy for such a tiny stream. From the wild moorland shadows of Tavy Cleave it flows under the walls of Tavi-

stock Abbey, down the valley of the Virtuous Lady, past the Abbey of Buckland, and then, a little below the seat of Sir Massey Lopes at Maristow, wedded to the stately Tamar it laps the shores of Warleigh, and so on to its destiny in the great sea. Tavistock, Buckland, Warleigh, and Plymouth are all brimful of interest and natural beauty. The last, proud and important as it is now as the metropolis of the west, was humble to a degree in its first settlement. Domesday Book makes no mention thereof; and in a MS. of the time of Henry II. it is described as "a mene thing, an inhabitation for fishars." Risdon informs us that in the Saxon time it was called Tamarworth, or Tamarweorth, and before that Sutton or South Town, a name which lingers yet in Sutton Pool; but in the reign of Edward I. it was named conjointly Sutton Prior and Sutton Valletort, the north being on the lands of Plympton Prior, and the south on the estates of the Valletorts—a family name now preserved as the title of the heir to the earldom of Mount-Edgumbe. Under the care of the priors, the place grew; and, finally, in tribute perhaps of their fostering hand, in the reign of Henry VII. it assumed the name of the insignificant river which forms its eastern boundary, as Plym-mouth. The part formerly Sutton Valletort now constitutes the borough of Stonehouse—originally Hippeston—so called from Joel de Stonehouse, the lord of its demesne at the time of Henry III.

The most beautiful spot in Plymouth is the Hoe, compassing sea and land, and all things fair embracing, and its command of the heights of Dartmoor, and at the same time the wide expanse of sea is aptly set forth in the lines which imply a possible telegraphy from

"him that sat on the mountain lea,
By dancing rivulets fed his flocks,
To him who sat upon the rocks,
And fluted to the morning sea."

Hence can be seen the Catwater or mouth of the Plym to the east, the Hamoaze or mouth of the Tamar westward; while Bovisand, Wembury, and the Mew Stone, bound the

orient shore seaward, the occident fringed by the cliffs of Whitsands and the umbrageous slopes of Mount-Edgcombe.

From this height of land might have been seen in 1595 the flames and smoke which arose from the market-place, lurid and dense against the sky, when were burnt twenty-two chests of papal bulls and indulgences, taken from discomfited Spanish invaders on the Cornish coast. Here a few years earlier were gathered, on the bowling-green outside "The Pelican" tavern, the famous group who bearded the King of Spain to so good purpose, that he never knew the like before—John Hawkins, the patriarch of Plymouth seamen, Walter Raleigh, Sir Richard Grenville, Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, Martin Frobisher, John Davis, George Fenner, and one other whom I would borrow fit words to describe—"His cap is in his hands, so you can see the bullet-head of crisp brown hair and the wrinkled forehead, as well as the high cheek bones, the short square face, the broad temples, the thick lips, which are yet firm as granite. A coarse, plebeian stamp of man; yet the whole figure and attitude are that of boundless determination, self-possession, energy; and, when at last he speaks a few blunt words, all eyes are turned respectfully upon him—for his name is Francis Drake."

In a yet earlier time and a mythical, where now stands the citadel, "upon that lofty place at Plimmith called the Hoe," was fought that terrible duel between the giant Goëmot and Brutus' kinsman Corinæus—

"The western Hogh, besprinkled with the gore
Of mighty Goëmot, whom in stout fray
Corinæus conquered."—SPENSER.

In the reign of Edward III. an attack upon the town by the French was met by Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, a distinguished man, whose name and title both survive in the Earl of Devon of to-day; and the brave Hugh, though eighty years of age, aided by gentlemen of the county, slew 500 of the invaders, and put the rest to an ignoble flight. In the time of Henry IV. the same unruly warriors from over the

channel, under Lord de Castle, Lord Marshall of Bretayin, made another raid on the town, and, having burnt 600 houses, retired, leaving a memento of their visit in the locality still known as Breton's or Briton's side, a novel and unfriendly return home of emigrants after generations of settlement in a foreign country, whither they had gone as warriors in the ranks of the legions of Imperial Rome.

Glancing at Warleigh, teeming with legend and family lore, we recall stalwart Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester, Bishop of Hereford, and finally Bishop of London, one whose name lingers yet in Tamerton Foliot hard by, across the ferry from Bere Ferrers. This prelate was A'Becket's most distinguished opponent, and the best supporter of the policy of Henry II. There is a legend, that after a nocturnal interview with the king concerning the archbishopric, on retiring to his couch Foliot was confronted by the devil, who addressed him thus:

"O Gilberte Foliot!
Dum tu revolvis tot et tot
Deus tuus est Ashtarot."

("O thou Gilbert Foliot!
Whilst thou revolest what and what,
Thy God is god Ashtarot.")

To which the prelate nothing daunted replied:

"Mentiris Dæmon, qui est Deus
Sabaoth est ille meus."

("Thou liest, Demon (a lie is thine);
The Lord of Hosts that God is mine.")

His right reverend lordship died in 1187.

Over the woods of Warleigh hang too the weird glamour of a tragedy which befell in the same remote time, when Esquire John Copleston waylaid his godson, who was also, some say, his natural son, on the road from church, and slew him for some trifling slight; after which he fled to foreign lands, and it required much interest at court to secure his safe return. This Copleston died without heirs, and Warleigh fell to John Elford of Sheepstor, whose wife, Elizabeth Cople-

ston, daughter of the said Esquire John, bore her husband four daughters, one of whom, Barbara, married Arthur Fortescue, from whom came the Earls Fortescue. The Elford family were for long generations a notable family; and the granite Tor under which they lived, lies like a lion couchant to the right as one journeys from Plymouth to Buckland Abbey. Near that eminence of Sheepstor Drake began his great engineering work hereafter noted; and in a cave near its crown a prescribed Royalist of the Elford family found shelter. The cave was a sure refuge, and the fugitive, at once a painter and poet, passed his time between fresco-painting on the granite sides of the cave, and gazing on the grand panorama of moorland and of sea which lay before him. The aforesaid John Elford had in all four wives, the second, after the death of Elizabeth Copleston, being a sister of the first Sir John Northcote. In her little moorland home Mrs Elford never dreamt of her remote grand-nephew, who should attain to the chancellorship of his sovereign's exchequer. The sister of the first Mrs John Elford, and her co-heiress, married Sir John Bampfylde, to whom she ultimately brought the Warleigh estate; and their descendant, Sir Copleston Bampfylde, in the troubles incidental to the cause of King Charles II., found shelter with his neighbour, a member of the family of Drake. And this brings us back to our subject; and we cast a glance, and it can be but a glance, I regret to say, at the fair Amicia, Countess of Devon, and her ladyship's foundation, yclept Buckland Abbey.

The Lady Amicia was the widow of Baldwin de Redvers or Rivers, Earl of Devon, daughter of Gilbert Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, and mother of an heiress, famous in her day—Isabella de Fortibus. The latter joined her mother in works of piety, and united with her in this particular endowment of Buckland Abbey, an endowment which exhibits the former uncultivated and unproductive condition of the country, and gives a key to the enormous wealth of some landowners of the present day. The countess assigned for the purposes of the maintenance of the abbey the manors of

Buckland, in which the abbey was situate; Walkhampton, an adjoining moorland village; Bickleigh, a village contiguous to Maristow, owned by Sir Massey Lopes, and a common and favourite resort for its gloriously wooded and watered vale; and that of Collumpton, or perhaps more correctly Compton. To these gifts of manorial rights and lands the young Isabella added contributions in money, all which donations were confirmed by Edward I., and were available by this religious brotherhood for two hundred and seventy years, on the expiration of which period, that is, on the suppression of monastic institutions, they were of the goodly value of £241, 16s. 9d. per annum.

The Abbey of Buckland was founded for Cistercian or White monks, from Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight, in 1278, and was dedicated to Saint Mary and Saint Benedict, though the abbey seal ungallantly omits mention of the lady, and points to Saint Benedict only, indicating the institution as that of "The Place of St Benedict of Buckland;" from which designation, maintained perhaps in vulgar parlance, Drake, I presume, borrowed his style of Place Barton, previously mentioned.

The present residence occupies the site and incorporates some of the remains of the ancient church, but the original structure has been so much transformed from time to time as to be almost beyond recognition. There was evidently originally a nave, choir, transepts, and side aisles, with a lantern over the arches of the nave, choir, and transepts; the arches, filled up with masonry, still remaining. The ancient belfry and refectory also still exist. This last has its windows blocked up, and is used as a barn—a noble barn it is, too, of 180 feet in length. The pleasure-grounds and woods have a rare charm for seclusion and natural beauty; and the contiguous orchard is said by tradition to have been the first planted in Devon; but long before the foundation of this abbey, says Mr King, the eminent archæologist, orchards were planted by the abbots of Montbourg on their manors of Lodres in Dorset, and at Axmouth. The former excellence of Devonshire cider was due to the care of the monks and the

grafting of trees with splits from Normandy; and perhaps if the same care and attention were bestowed upon the orchards now, as is the case in the Channel Islands, the common cider might more nearly resemble the wine of Champagne, as it was said to do in former days.

It was during his residence at Buckland Abbey, hard by the source and channel of the Plymouth leat, and during the peace that ensued upon the defeat of the Spanish Armada, that Drake conceived the project of bringing water to Plymouth, and obtained an Act of Parliament authorising him to take an aqueduct through private property for the conveyance to that town of a stream of pure Dartmoor water. He secured this charter either in his official position as the representative of Plymouth in the House of Commons, or as the mayor of that borough. This work has given to his local reputation a lustre not outshone even by his maritime exploits. I have found no record of the work, but the attributed period embraced within its execution varies, says Mr R. N. Worth, from three months to three years; but a year was probably the time occupied.

There is a legend that the formation of the leat was supernatural. Seeing the urgent necessity for a supply of good water, it is said that Francis Drake one day mounted his horse and rode away, until he came to an abundant spring of the purest water. Whereupon he turned his horse's head and rode to Plymouth town; and the stream followed fast upon his horse's heels. The legend is but a legend; but its invention was a tribute to the great genius which so readily subjugated nature as did that of Drake.

"The head of the stream," says Risdon, "is seven miles; but in its ambage by hills and through dales, especially one main rock, thought to be impenetrable, at least is become a travel of twenty miles." In the Tavistock Road, on the old town conduit, it is inscribed: "Sir Francis Drake first brought the water into Plymouth in 1591." On the occasion mentioned in the brief but pithy inscription there was a grand pageantry. The mayor and corporation proceeded in state

to meet the water as it followed the newly-cut channel; and that first municipal recognition of the water supply has been annually celebrated down to the present day, each recurring anniversary in August being marked by a fishing feast, given at a tavern near the source, at which the fish course consists of trout from the leat. At the Weir Head the assembled magnates drink in water to "the pious memory of Sir Francis Drake;" and then in wine they pledge the toast, "May the descendants of him who brought us water never want wine;" an idle wish, seeing he died without issue! Upon his decease, and that of his wife, his property was left to his brother Thomas, whose son Francis, not Barnard, as erroneously given by a contemporary already quoted, and who probably confounded two men of the same surname, married a daughter of Sir William Strode, and was made a baronet in 1622. Buckland Abbey continued in the Drake family until the death of Sir Francis Henry Drake, Bart., in 1794, who bequeathed it to his sister's son, Lord Heathfield.

In 1595, Drake and Sir John Hawkins, with six royal ships besides twenty-one ships and barks of their own, made sail for the West Indies. It was a fatal voyage for both; and divided authority tended not to the happiness of their last days. Drake would have gone direct to America, but Hawkins was opposed to that plan; and therefore it was that when Drake, after Hawkins' decease, arrived at the West Indies, he found the Spaniards prepared for him. His death was caused by disappointment, or by grief for the loss of his ship "Francis," taken by the Spaniards; or perhaps by both, for "when the same heart has two mortal wounds given it together, it is hard to say which of them killeth" (Prince). He died of a violent flux, at Bella Porta, January 28, 1595, and was buried at sea.

"Where Drake first found there last he lost his name,
And for all time left nothing but his fame:
His body's buried under some great wave;
The sea, that was his glory, is his grave.
On whom an epitaph none can truly make,
For who can say 'Here lies Sir Francis Drake?'"

Of his death it was true that "sickness did not so much untie his clothes as sorrow did rend at once the robe of his mortality asunder."

Of his ambition and pluck, his vanity, his severity, and self-confidence, I cannot say more than appears within the limits of this essay. All is summed up in the brief words of Lord Bacon when he said: "As in nature things move more violently to their place, and calmly in their place: so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm."

THE SEVENTY WEEKS OF DANIEL, AND PERSIAN CHRONOLOGY.

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ONE would naturally think that a prophecy like that of the seventy weeks (heptades) of Daniel—known to have been fulfilled—would admit of easy proof and explanation ; but so far is this from being the case that (as Professor Stewart justly remarks) “it would require a volume of considerable magnitude to give a history of the ever-varying and contradictory opinions of critics respecting this *locus vexatissimus*, and perhaps a still larger one to establish an exegesis that would stand. I am fully of opinion that no interpretation as yet published will stand the test of thorough grammatico-historical criticism, and that a candid, searching, and thorough critique here is still a desideratum.”

In the first place, commentators cannot agree as to the *terminus à quo*, which must evidently be some decree or order “to restore and to build Jerusalem :” “Know therefore and understand,” says the prophecy, “that *from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem* unto the Messiah the Prince,” etc. (Dan. ix. 25).

There are four different edicts from which the 490 years might date : (1.) one issued in the first year of Cyrus, B.C. 536 of the ordinary chronology ; (2.) one given in the third (or fourth) year of Darius Hystaspes, B.C. 518 ; (3.) the commission given to Ezra by Artaxerxes Longimanus in the seventh year of his reign, B.C. 457 ; and (4.) that given to Nehemiah by the same king in the twentieth year of his reign, B.C. 444. But of these it may be observed that the decree of Darius

merely confirms that of Cyrus, whilst that of Artaxerxes, in his twentieth year, is but a renewal of the decree issued in his seventh year ; so that one would think there were but two to choose between.

To give some idea, however, of the difficulty which commentators have found in expounding the prophecy, and making it tally with the received chronology, the subjoined list of explanations is given.

1. The decree of the first year of Cyrus has been selected as the starting-point by Calvin, Broughton, Beroaldus, and the Geneva Bible.

2. Hans Wood, Hales, and Mede commence from the fourth year of Darius Nothus, B.C. 420, when Nehemiah's reform was completed, and end with the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70. But Mede confounded Darius Nothus with Darius Hystaspes, "in the second year of whose reign (and not in that of Darius Nothus) the whole temple, after a long interruption, began to revive."

3. Prideaux, Stackhouse, Kett, Cresswell, Pusey, and most modern commentators, commence from the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B.C. 457, and end with the crucifixion of our Lord, A.D. 33.

4. A numerous class of commentators—Petavius, Africanus, Lyranus, Zonaras, Usher, and some moderns—take the twentieth of Artaxerxes as their starting-point, B.C. 444 ; but many of them reckon by lunar years, consisting of 354 days and a fraction over.

5. Eusebius commences from the sixth year of Darius Hystaspes, and ends the 69 weeks $3\frac{1}{2}$ years after Christ's baptism, but he takes the last heptade for the whole period that must elapse till the end of the world.

6. Tertullian, by beginning in the first year of Darius, counts 490 years to the destruction of Jerusalem. The late Duke of Manchester also selected the first year of Darius, son of Ahasuerus, *anno* Nabonass. 325, B.C. 424, and ended with A.D. 66.

7. As far as the *terminus à quo* is concerned, Burnet,

Hippolytus, Apollinaris, Œcolampadius, Melancthon, Myers, Willet, Wintle, Barnes, Gregg, Clemens Alexandrinus, Theodoret, etc., agree with one or the other of the above, but differ widely in the details of their interpretation.

8. Besides all these there are a host of German rationalists and other anti-Messianic critics, abundantly refuted in Dr Pusey's "Lectures on Daniel," who think that the prophecy had reference to Antiochus Epiphanes, the deposition of Onias III., etc.

Most of the commentators have rejected the decree of Cyrus for the commencement of the 490 years, because the extract from it given by Ezra does not contain any order to *build the city*, but only the temple. The document is given in full by Josephus* in the shape of a letter from "King Cyrus to Sisinnes and Sathrabuzanes," the Tatnai and Shetharboznai of Ezra.† And there we find an explicit order to rebuild the city: "I have given leave," writes King Cyrus, "to as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please to *return to their own country*, and to *rebuild their city*, and to *build the Temple* of God at Jerusalem on the same place where it was before," etc.

This preliminary objection being removed, it may be proved conclusively that this is the decree, or word, or order, referred to in the prophecy. In the first place, a literal rendering of the opening words admits of no other supposition. Hales translates: "From the going forth of the oracle to restore [*Thy people*], and to rebuild Jerusalem," etc. Calvin: "From the going forth of the edict, or a word, concerning the *bringing back of the people*," etc. Gregg: "Week 7 and week 62—(*the people*) *shall return*, and be built street and trench," etc. The "going forth of a word concerning the bringing back of the people, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem," can be explained by reference to no other document than the letter of Cyrus just quoted. And if Jerusalem had *not* been rebuilt in compliance with some order or permission from Cyrus, then the prophecy in Isa. xlv. 28 was manifestly

* Antiq., xi.

† In 1 Esdr. vii. 1 the names are the same as in Josephus.

unfulfilled, and we should have another difficulty on our hands worse than the first, and another triumph for the Rationalists. Here, then, beyond all cavil, is the *terminus à quo* of the 490 years; but the difficulty is this, that the ordinary chronology gives us from the first of Cyrus to the birth of Christ 536 years, and to the crucifixion 569—a difficulty which will be examined by-and-by.

In addition to the reasons already mentioned for rejecting any other starting-point than this, there is the following fatal objection to the 7th or 20th of Artaxerxes. A reference to the proceedings consequent upon the decrees of this king establishes conclusively the fact that it was *not* the city, but merely the *outer wall* or fortifications that they were then engaged in rebuilding. Nehemiah, chap. iii., gives us "the names and order of them that builded the wall." There we read how Meremoth built or repaired the wall "from the door of the *house* of Eliashib" to the end of his house; how Benjamin and Hashub repaired the wall "over against their *house*;" and so on right through the chapter—such and such persons being detailed to repair or build the wall opposite such and such houses. Now how could this be, if the *houses* were not yet rebuilt? Beyond all question, when Artaxerxes gave these orders *the city was already rebuilt*, and it must have been done in consequence of some previous edict, but there was no previous edict except that of Cyrus. The prophecy regarding Cyrus was therefore fulfilled; and we arrive at the same conclusion, viz., that the 490 years date from the first year of Cyrus, and we have therefore to reduce the 569 years of the common chronology to 490. This must be done by rectifying the Persian chronology. It is scarcely necessary to remark that all the dates for the ordinary chronology are derived from the Bible, except for the time occupied by the Persian dynasty, to ascertain the duration of which recourse has been had to other sources, the scattered dates in Ezra and Nehemiah not being sufficient for the purpose. And here a mistake has been made, arising from the well-known fact, that a Persian king was in the habit of selecting his own

successor from amongst his sons or other relations, in order to prevent disputes after his death; and that son so selected during his father's lifetime was also styled king; and when his father died, the son reckoned the years of his reign, not from the date of his father's death, but from the time when he was nominated to succeed him, so that several years have been reckoned twice over. As an instance of this, it may be mentioned, that if we compare Nehemiah with Josephus, we shall find that the 20th year of the reign of Artaxerxes corresponded with the 25th of Xerxes.

Nehem. ii. 1-11: "It came to pass in the month Nisan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, the king. . . . I came to Jerusalem."

Josephus, An., xi. 6: "Now when he (Nehemiah) was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in the 25th year of the reign of Xerxes."

In the following section Josephus goes on to say that Nehemiah "also went about the compass of the city by night, being never discouraged, neither about the work itself, nor about his own diet and sleep, for he made no use of those things for his pleasure, but out of necessity; for in so long a time was the wall built, in the 28th year of the reign of Xerxes, in the 9th month."

It is clear from this that Xerxes and Artaxerxes were on the throne at the same time for twenty years. I may here mention that the Chronological Institute of London maintain that Artaxerxes was only another name for Xerxes, the prefix *arta* signifying *great*. In this manner they get rid of the time that Xerxes separately reigned altogether. But we learn from Herodotus, vii. 2-4, that four years after the battle of Marathon Darius declared Xerxes to be his heir and successor, having at the same time raised him to the throne—ἀποδέξας βασιλῆα Πέρσης Δαρείος Ξέρξεα—and so we may get rid of the separate reign of Xerxes without confounding him with Artaxerxes.

Now the date of the battle of Marathon is generally set down as B.C. 490. If Xerxes began to reign four years after

this, in B.C. 486, and Herodotus is correct, we reduce the chronology almost within the requisite limits. The first year of Cyrus would thus be B.C. 506, instead of B.C. 536, the ordinary date assigned to that year. That the chronology of this period is very uncertain is an acknowledged fact, and it need not therefore excite surprise that commentators find such difficulty in hitting upon a satisfactory explanation of this celebrated prophecy, which, being genuine, naturally and necessarily refuses to be reconciled to a system of chronology evidently inaccurate. The first requisite is to fix the duration of the whole Persian dynasty, when the difficulty will vanish, the number of years from the death of Alexander the Great being accurately known.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF IDEALISM AND REALISM.

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II. ROMAN PERIOD.

THROUGHOUT the whole of man's mental development, which word in itself excludes any repetition or stagnation in history, we can trace action and reaction, or rather, according to Hegel's dialectics, "progress by contrasts." Certain ideas take root in humanity. They blossom, bear fruits, and then die away. Similar ideas shoot up again; not the same, but full of a new vigour and vitality, rooted in an altogether changed soil; composed of the intellectual blossoms and fruits of a previous era, nourished by the totally different mode of thinking, the increased or decreased amount of knowledge of new generations. This was the case with the acting and counteracting movements of idealism and realism in Greece. The ideas of Demokritos or Hippokrates were superseded by the idealistic arguments of Sokrates, whose principles formed the basis of the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle in the following century. The supernaturalism of Plato and the realism of Aristotle both had their followers, who read and understood them differently. We have first the celebrated physicist Strato, who looked upon the *νοῦς* of Aristotle as a mere consciousness of impressions. The activity of the soul was with him simply motion. He explained all existence and life as originating in the natural forces with which matter is endowed. Strato led to Epikurus, who was counteracted by the Stoiks, who, despite their professed idealism, were the most prominent materialists in physical science. We can trace an analogous

phenomenon in our own times in which it often occurs, that men with theologically biased minds in metaphysical matters are the most pronounced realists where natural sciences are concerned. Like the ancient Greeks of the times of Plato and Aristotle, we too stand at the beginning of a new period that is about to detach itself from the past, and to seek a new basis for our mental, social, and philosophical development. Wherever we find such a transition state in history, we see men leaving the path of speculation, and devoting themselves unconditionally to the study of outward nature. To know at such a moment is to know the properties of stones, plants, gases, elements, and nothing further. All speculation is avoided as mere waste of time. Ethics and esthetics are considered mere outgrowths of crude matter, over which the individual has no control. Whilst men repeat the outward formulæ of metaphysicians, they counteract what they often call dreamy and useless speculations. Generalisations begin to be neglected as mere arbitrary assumptions of some overheated imagination, and all fly to particular individualisations, to technical specialities. They try to separate and to detach the different branches of science, and instead of philosophers and thinkers who can grasp different phenomena with broad minds as connected wholes, we see ourselves surrounded by numbers of isolated electric, geological, biological, chemical, botanical, zoological, and mineralogical rattling word machines, in whom every higher intellectual conception is smothered by a heap of specialities, who may sometimes be brimful of details, but who, from a philosophical point of view, stand at Reaumur's freezing-point—ZERO. This phenomenon we can also trace in Greece. The support afforded to the consciousness of the individual by state and religion was broken to pieces; and the philosophers, despite their contempt for idealism, studied matter only for the purpose of securing for themselves happiness, freedom, and peace of the mind, the very highest *idealistic* goods of humanity.

Like some expounders of Ecclesiastes, the Stoics at first sight were the most consequent materialists. God and the soul,

virtue and passions, were all bodies. There could scarcely be a greater contrast than that between Plato and the Stoics. Yet the Stoics were, after all, greater idealists than either Plato or the commentators on Ecclesiastes, who exclaim: "I know there is no good in them, but for a man to rejoice and to do good in his life. And also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour. I said in my heart concerning the estate of the sons of men that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them; as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath, so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast; for all is vanity. All go unto one place, all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again." This is a far less exalted view than that of the Stoics, who assumed that the different forces working in matter were directed by a force of all forces—the Deity. They did not propound spirit and matter as absolutely separated entities, but their matter was in all its smallest particles endowed with a soul, which soul pervaded also the universe, and was identical with it. At the same time the Deity was with them more than mere matter set into motion; it was "the fiery reason of the world," producing what is reasonable, teleological, as Diogenes of Apollonia asserted, according to general laws, which are inborn in man's consciousness, and which he cannot acquire by mere contemplation, or by experimenting on visible and tangible objects. Whilst pessimism, contempt of every higher aspiration, satisfaction with that which has been, and is, and shall be for ever, was the outgrowth of a philosophy based on the misunderstood principles of Ecclesiastes, the Stoics paved the way to anthropomorphism, teleology, and optimism, for the fundamental idea of their philosophy was a mighty *pantheistic* conception.

Whilst by some ancient Jews we were classed with mere beasts, and were advised to eat well and drink well, which was the old Egyptian Epikureanism, divested of all philosophical beauty, the Stoics taught that all our actions were the direct

manifestations of our will; which will, in its turn, is the purest, innermost essence of every man, the efflux of necessity and Divine Providence, pervading the universe in its smallest particles. Man is responsible even for his innermost thoughts, for thoughts engender words, and words deeds; and the purity and morality of our thoughts must produce purity of words, and morality in deeds. These are undoubtedly the ethic principles of Zoroaster which are here brought into a philosophical shape. The soul with the Stoics, though of a material nature, was thought to live on after death. The wicked and unwise souls, composed of a less pure essence, were to perish more quickly; whilst the good and virtuous souls raised themselves to an abode of bliss, where they would rest till the great destruction of the universe by fire, when everything would flow back to the Divine source whence it emanated.

However exalted the ethic principles of the Stoics were, those of Epikurus surpassed them, in so far as they established a greater union between ethics and physics, between our moral and material nature. Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, tried to bring union into the dualistic notions of Aristotle, whose assumption of a transcendental Deity in opposition to the visible world acted upon by Him, and separation of the animal body and its vivifying immortal spirit, served during the whole period of the Middle Ages as a powerful support for the Christians' broken consciousness, striving upwards from the dust, and thirsting for eternal salvation. This was not so with the proud antarchy of the Stoics. With them all bodies were spirits, or all spirits, even with the moving force in them, were mere bodies. Bodies were assumed to be mere expansions in space, and thus the distinction between body and spirit was not very great. The deeper speculations concerning space and time, however, belong to the nineteenth century; and we may pass to an inquiry into the principles of Epikurus.

This greatly misunderstood and calumniated philosopher was the son of a poor shoemaker of Athens, who gained by lot a colonial share in Samos, where Epikurus was born, 342

or 341 B.C. When fourteen years old he read Hesiod's "Cosmogony" at school, and when he came to the passage, that all things originated in chaos, he asked quickly, "And where did the chaos come from?" His master could not answer the question, and from that time Epikurus began to think for himself, that is, from that time he became a philosopher, for a philosopher is one who dares to think independently. When eighteen years of age Epikurus went to Athens, and there heard Xenokrates, a pupil of Plato, whilst Aristotle, who had been accused of blasphemy and ungodliness, awaited the end of his life at Chalkis. Thebes was destroyed, Demosthenes languished in exile; from Asia joyous news of the glorious conquests of Alexander the Great resounded. The East was once more brought into relation with the Greeks, who began to lose their national particularism, and to influence humanity at large with their mighty philosophical ideas. But Alexander died suddenly at Babylon, and a last convulsive effort at freedom was made by the Athenians, but at once suppressed by Antipater. Epikurus retired from Athens, and is said to have lived at Kolophon, Mitylene, and Lampsakus, and only returned to Athens when an elderly man. He bought himself a garden, and lived there with his disciples. On the entrance to this garden the following inscription could be read: "Stranger, here you will feel delighted; here the highest happiness is joy." Epikurus was a perfect pattern of a wise and worldly man. He loved his country, though he never took office. He observed the usual religious ceremonies without ever believing in the gods, as the masses did. He taught that the gods must be honoured, since they never interfere with the eternal laws, according to which the phenomena of nature must happen. Some consciousness of the gods appeared to Epikurus a necessity for the higher development of man's nobler nature. The deities were to him beings of perfection; to honour them as such, not merely to believe in them, was essential with him. He was no hypocrite—his gods stood above care and pain, passion and wretchedness, therefore he worshipped them as representatives or as "eidola"

of the fundamental principles of his philosophy. Thus, whilst he tried to free humanity from foolish superstitions, he was able to promulgate theories which were to serve humanity as a truthful basis for a sound philosophy. Eternal order pervaded the phenomena of creation and destruction. To trace this order was to be the duty of the physicist. A merely historical knowledge of the phenomena of nature had with Epikurus as little value as the knowledge of isolated facts in man's history could have, if both studies were not based on an endeavour to ascertain the causes of the phenomena. The more we strive to become conscious of the causes that produce changes in the outer and inner phenomena of our religious, social, or natural conditions, the more surely do we attain the "peace of contemplation," which must be the highest delight of a thinking, self-conscious being. His most important theory bore upon the belief in a future state of things. The question resolved itself into the possibility of personal consciousness after death, and the possibility of sensations for a soul without the organs of our five senses. "Death ought to be utterly indifferent," for it deprives us of sensations and consciousness. "So long as we are, death is not there; as soon as death sets in, we are no more." "There is no evil for him in this world who has convinced himself that it is no evil not to live." This apparently hopeless theory did not, with Epikurus, lead to mere sensual enjoyment. On the contrary, he clearly declared that only virtue could give us the highest delight and pleasure, and that we ought to love and practise virtue for its own sake. Ethically, Epikurus stood on the same level as his opponents Zeno and Chrisippus. The starting-points undoubtedly differed. With Zeno virtue was to be our aim to enable us to become good; with Epikurus wisdom was everything, so that we might become virtuous. The more we study and dive into the historical development of humanity, the more we become convinced that idealists and realists aim at the same goal, their differences consisting only in their starting-points. With Epikurus, *physics* (natural philosophy) was to lead to

ethics; whilst with Zeno ethics were to lead to goodness. Epikurus wished to free humanity from ignorance, which is based on fear and restless hopes. Research and study must lead to the conviction that everything, not only in the material, but also in the world of impressions, sensations, and consciousness, must be subject to order and law, both of which must be universal. The advantage of this assertion is immense; it must produce a more correct appreciation of facts, which, if they can with probability be explained as *natural*, ought never to be explained by an assumption of the *supernatural*. The assumption of the supernatural must obstruct the path of every searcher for truth, and lead us to the same result as the assumption "that there is nothing new." The intellectual or dynamic force working in humanity is, however, more and more bent upon discarding the supernatural, and strives to give intelligible answers to the most mysterious questions. Like Demokritos, Epikurus also asserted that of nothing nothing could come; for if the contrary were true, out of everything everything might be formed. "Everything existing must be a body, only space can be bodiless. Some bodies are composed, others are simple, forming combinations. The universe is boundless, and so must be the bodies filling it. Atoms are in eternal motion—there was no beginning of this motion, nor will there be an end of it. Atoms possess no other qualities but those of size, form, and weight." We see that our most advanced materialists or realists have continually to use Demokritos and Epikurus. "Atoms" are assumed by Epikurus "as smaller than any measurable or ponderable quantities. Time, in which the atoms move in the empty space, is relatively immeasurable. So are the atoms, and their number is infinite, though the forms into which they unite are not infinite, although their variety is immense. Thus in a limited body the number and difference of the atoms is limited. There can be no absolute above or below in empty space. Though the relative directions of bodies may be innumerable, there may be assumed a re-

lative above and below. The soul is a refined air with an admixture of fire pervading the whole body; part of the living body, an organ, not an extraneous something that can exist by itself after the dissolution of the body." He further assumes that the body encloses the soul, and furnishes it with sensations and participates in them. Epikurus also tried to explain the origin of languages and sciences through natural laws. "Sensual perceptions are the basis of all consciousness." This one sentence explains many a curious phenomenon in the gradual development of humanity. If a madman sees a ghost, the ghost, so far as the perception of the madman is concerned, is a reality for him individually. If a philosopher explains certain phenomena in nature, and a theologian certain propensities of our moral nature, and if both assign to the relative phenomena certain causes, both may be true so far as the observers are concerned, and yet they may be at the same time utterly false in reference to the observed objects themselves. Epikurus served, more than many a modern metaphysician would like to admit, to further the propagation of *individual* visions as *general* truths. Epikurus was the propounder of what he called "canonical doctrines," and we must not be astonished to see his principles revived at a later period by the scholastic philosophers; for a distorted realistic Epikureanism and the most mystic idealism are often found in close and incomprehensible union. His system may be reduced to the following three fundamental principles:

1. Self-knowledge.
2. Knowledge of the laws of nature.
3. Knowledge of the true laws of society.

The accusation of atheism which has been launched against Epikurus is mere verbiage. To study nature and its laws, history and man in history, is not denying the Deity, but simply assuming our incompetence as finite beings to deal with the infinite. At the time when Epikurus ended his life in joyful happiness amongst a large circle of his disciples,

Alexandria was the centre of a new philosophical development. This new school is often looked upon as a mere pedantic dialectical outgrowth of the elder Greek philosophy; but this is far from a truthful appreciation of the vigorous and genial activity of thought which spread from Alexandria over the whole of the world. The collection of books, the earnest studies that were made in grammar, astronomy, history, geometry, statics, and anatomy, by thinkers like Aristarchus, Hipparchus, Polybius, Euklid, Archimedes, and Herophilus, are so many proofs, that though philosophy took a more realistic and less idealistic turn, it neither died out nor altogether slumbered. Alexandria was at that period the focus of all the intellectual powers of humanity. Indian, Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman philosophers exchanged ideas, built up systems, and though divided into innumerable sects and schools, may all be classified as either strict idealists or strict realists, the Epikureans being their connecting links. He who once became an Epikurean was one for ever; once convinced of the realistic elements upon which the theories of Epikurus were founded, the cultivated reason of the sectarian could never see the good of any other disturbing, horrifying, or spiritually tormenting system in philosophy.

This naturally leads us to the contemplation of Roman philosophy, which, in spite of the unphilosophic and superstitious character of the Romans, was entirely Epikurean, with a gentle admixture of Stoicism at a later period. The Romans, notwithstanding the practical part which they played in the historical development of humanity, were exclusively idealistic, and their idealism may serve to explain the rough and coarse realism that obtained such hold on their minds in counter-action to their idealism. Their very state was founded on a mere abstraction; their laws were framed *a priori*; the formula, "Salus reipublicæ suprema lex," is an ideal assumption. What did the word "salus" mean, and when did any Roman find it possible to bring this welfare of the republic into union with his individual happiness, without a thorough absorption of his own concrete

identity into the general abstraction of the commonwealth? These abstract Roman ideas made it possible that at a later period the most refined spiritualisation of our social organisation could develop into the most terrible and sanguinary despotism. As it is, and always must be, the case with superstitious, and at the same time practical, matter-of-fact people, arts and sciences had little charm for the Romans. Politics and warfare absorbed their whole mental and bodily activity. Cicero himself, towards the end of the republic, protested publicly in the senate against the accusation that he loved arts or had any sympathy for "allogria," as he called matters of higher taste. Professor Mommsen says of the old Romans, with great truth, that they were without the passion of the heart, the longing to idealise what was humane, and to incarnate, or rather humanise, what was lifeless, and thus they were in want of the most sacred elements of poetry. This was also the case with their philosophy. In poetry, art, and philosophy they were close imitators of the Greeks. Greek Epikureanism and Stoicism were the principal philosophical schools of the Romans, and Professor Lange points with great justice to the fact that both parties plunged their daggers with equal fury into the bosom of Cæsar, because the Stoic Brutus and the Epikurean Cassius were both swayed rather by politics than philosophy. The only philosopher, in a very wide sense of the word, whom the Romans produced, was Titus Lucretius Carus (*b.* 99 B.C., *d.* 55 B.C.). Seneca was no philosopher, but merely a moralist. The philosophy of Lucretius revived in Gassendi and Descartes in entirely different forms. It is in itself characteristic that the only Roman philosopher should have clothed his ideas in a poetical form, and presented us with a discussion "On the Nature of Things" (*De Rerum Natura*) in verse. The formation of the cosmos out of eternal matter, the impossibility of a final end of the universe, atoms and their infinite divisibility, empty space, and gravitation towards a centre, are treated in hexameters, often in terse, dogmatic sentences, a characteristic feature of all poetical composition, in which the writer is generally more a prophet than a

philosopher, who tries in prose to reach truth on the thorny and prosy path of reasoning. The mechanical creation as such was most peremptorily advocated by Lucretius. Man, in his composition and development, in all his worldly relations, is but the product of material outer circumstances, over which the individual has very little, or, in fact, scarcely any control. Lucretius asserts that "atoms have not combined after mature deliberation, nor have they decided what motion to take; but they have been brought into their phenomenal forms by mere chance; having once assumed certain forms in time and space, they continue the regular production of phenomena; the streams nourish the seas; the earth heated by the rays of the sun brings forth new creations; the living generations germ, bud, and flourish; and the gliding sparks of ether remain alive."* Teleology with Lucretius was a mere abstraction; he reduced all design in nature to its own aim ("Zweck ist sich selbst Zweck"). This question forces itself upon us: "If the universe be a mere product of chance, if its whole design be but a design of atomic force, whence do our moral and ideal conceptions come?" Are we to assume, with Dr Carl Vogt, "that our thoughts stand in the same relation to our brain as the bile to the liver?" Demokritos, Lucretius, and our modern realists or materialists, merely explain with more or less ingenuity the material combination of phenomena, and entirely omit the first dawn of self-consciousness from their calculations. With self-consciousness, however, our higher moral and intellectual life begins. It would be exceedingly difficult to prove that this self-consciousness is not the effect of a particular combination of atoms, gases, elements, and chemical substances; but this effect is as variegated in its independent mode of working as are the rays of the sun in their influence on this globe. That the inorganic and organic products of the earth are the effects of the life-giving influences of heat and light may be granted; but the rose, through an absorption of cosmical, solar, and telluric elements, is still a rose and not a thistle, and the mere tracing

* See Professor Lange, p. 107, who gives the passage in full.

of causes, without a study of the effects as such, must naturally lead to misunderstanding and misrepresentation. Lucretius tries to explain sensations and consciousness by asserting that atoms do not feel separately, but only as combined totals. He, however, overlooks the altogether new world which these combinations of atoms create through their being capable of impressions; these impressions produce sensations of which we become conscious, and these impressions, sensations, and effects of consciousness, are again subject, not to a material law of causation, but to a mental or ideal law of reasoning. Lucretius dimly felt the contradiction in his system; for a combination of feelingless, unconscious atoms could never produce totals of feeling and conscious beings. He then is forced to assume a soul (*anima*), which he distinguishes from spirit, or rather intellect (*animus*), and he assumes the two as connected elements in man. Just as our hands, feet, and eyes are organs of the living being, so also are intellect and soul. Heat and breath are the *soul*, and the most refined essence, having its seat in our bosom, is the *spirit* or *intellect*. How Platonic these realists grow whenever they approach the ideal in us! Soul and spirit are bodies, and consist of the most minute, roundest, and most movable atoms. We cannot understand and grasp this. In answer to the question: By what means do the insensible and unconscious atoms suddenly become sensible? we can expect no other assertion but the one that is most dogmatically thrown out by our modern automatists—*motion*. But motion is not sensation, and least of all consciousness. Lucretius gives us no answers to the following questions: What feels? How do we feel? What is that which we feel? Where do we feel? In what way do impressions produce sensations, and what becomes conscious of these sensations? The whole teaching of Lucretius may be summed up in the one sentence—"There is no immortality of the soul." Death ought to be utterly indifferent to us. Whatever we may hold of the philosophy of Lucretius, it was the natural product of his times, and ultimately produced a wholesome reaction against the sickening and whining sentimentalism that altogether

neglected reality, and saw and regarded nothing but the phantoms of a wild, unbridled imagination.

Lucretius, who closely followed Hesiod, Demokritos, and Epikurus in his poetical work, made many a trenchant remark which had no meaning at the time, because the emancipation of women, and their rights to the same education and callings as men, were not yet made articles of faith, or systematised theories for philosophical essays. The origin of language and the development of trades and arts are touched upon, as well as the political formation of society and states. He sternly opposes ambition, and praises "obedience" above all as the principal virtue of a citizen. *Submission to authority* is always one of the favourite topics of theologians and political leaders. This was the more natural at the time of Lucretius, when the republic was shaken to its very foundations, when the wars of the republic had exhausted the state force, and political dissension turned the weapons of Romans against Romans. The mighty sanguinary activity of the Romans was followed by internal exhaustion, rottenness, and despair, producing a counteraction in an indescribable longing for peace, quietness, and a dreamy forgetfulness of reality. The questions that trouble the mind of humanity—the "wherefrom," "whatfor," and "whereto," or the "whence" and the "whither"—constantly forced themselves on the attention of Roman society. The old gods lost their concrete forms, and as abstractions they were powerless, or mere poetical fancies. The dry and contradictory theories of the philosophers interested only the higher educated classes, whilst the masses still believed lightning and thunder, hailstorms and inundations, clouds and winds, to be the direct actions of the gods. Lucretius tried to explain all these phenomena from natural causes, but he led to an idealism that suddenly absorbed the entire intellectual faculties of ancient humanity, and buried classicism in the night of superstition, forcing humanity to find new paths, new methods to climb again the heights of clear and unbiased reasoning. Semi-culture, even amongst the most instructed Romans, was the bane of their philosophical and historical

progress. Even the rich and powerful devoted themselves to an exclusive genealogical knowledge of their *gentes*, a biased and narrow-minded acquirement of the *fascia*. They practised elocution in order that they might shine with rhetorical elegance, made themselves acquainted with the principles of agriculture in order to amass riches. They despised all higher training, as leading to crime and sin, and turned the sublime ideas of Epikurus, who had discarded every form of superstition, and sought delight and happiness in virtue for its own sake, into a doctrine of wild debauchery, devoting themselves to utter unbelief, sarcastic scepticism, and rude negation. It is a fact "that ignorance is never the consequence of knowledge, fantastic arbitrariness is never the result of methodical study, and *free thought* never leads to *superstition*." Only where knowledge is the sequence of imaginary assumptions, based on meaningless formulæ, where a methodical study of generalisations is neglected, where free thought is oppressed or concealed behind hypocrisy, where life is assumed as a business that ought to pay, and where it is thought that were there no reward or punishment, life would not be worth living, only there and then philosophy must lead to superstition, and superstition to incredible crimes and misdeeds, perpetrated under the cover of religiousness. Tartarus, with all its torments, was an invention to overawe the restless masses of the Greeks and Romans, and the philosophers, in doing away with the idea of a future life, became dangerous "demons," as they might be called in certain circles, who assumed that the world was made and ruled on mechanical principles, that the universe was a mere scheme of illusion, and that "humanity had been persuaded to toil and to suffer upon a lie." Semi-cultured people with such ideas readily turned to the mystic teachings of the priests of Isis, or any other mystic deity; they believed in thaumaturgi and prophets, incantations, conjurations, visions, and dreams; and whilst they believed and worshipped occult powers, they gave themselves up practically to the grossest materialism. In such a sense nothing is more despicable

than a so-called believing people, with its credulous superstition on one side and its practical realism on the other. When the practical spirit is bent upon the search after truth, an improvement of the social and consequently also of the moral condition of the masses in general, and of every individual in particular, must follow. When an energetic national spirit drives the great thinkers of a nation to discoveries and inventions, to an equal culture of the ideal and real, then we shall see the same results as at Athens, during the time of Perikles, and as we have seen in England for the last three centuries. The ideal will then become the *force* that will master *matter*, and *matter* will be used to promote the very highest ideal good of humanity—peace, love, and happiness, which Demokritos, Epikurus, and Zeno attempted, but for which the times were not yet ripe. The seeds that were sown by the mighty thinkers of the Perikleian period matured during the two centuries preceding the birth of Christ, but as yet brought forth only fragrant blossoms; the fruits were still to come. Mysteries and incomprehensibilities intoxicated the masses, and led them to despise all real knowledge. Mystic worships promised comfort to the “sin-tormented” people. Matter became an abomination. The new-Platonists and new-Pythagoreans mingled Oriental, more especially Egyptian and Indian, speculations and dogmas with the idealistic dreams of Plato, and assumed the position of prophets and priests, instead of that of philosophers. It is often asserted that *unbelief* produces *superstition*; we are, however, warned by the greatest writers on the history of philosophy not to allow ourselves to be misled by this dazzling antithesis. Any stern and scientific system, based on solid principles, detaching faith from knowledge, must exclude with still greater force any form of superstition. We generally find that idealism based on unproved or impossible assumptions, produces phenomena of the most contradictory nature. The secret and charming mysteries of Isis, the riotous processions in honour of Bacchus, accompanied by symbolic performances, turned the people into gloomy ascetics. The morbid cravings to fly

reality, to seek death, or in abject self-abnegation to retire from this world, were the sequences of a misunderstood realism; but history teaches us the fact, that the most sublime idealism of Christianity led in the first instances to the same results.

Christianity, as the most abstract doctrine of an empire "that is not of this world," opened a new vista to sunken humanity. Christianity was to be the religion of truth and spiritual exaltation, but above all of *general brotherhood*, counteracting the wretched *egotism* into which mock-philosophers, false prophets, and necromancers had plunged humanity. Miracles, though not the chief means of propagating Christianity, were of great use in furthering the progress of the new faith at an age when people craved after miracles and believed only in the supernatural. The magi, and priests of Isis, and Apollonius of Tyana, endeavoured to compete with the Christians, as also did the philosophers who attracted the masses with delusions and prophecies.

The old world had to yield to the pure and divine ethic principles of Christianity, because it taught a higher spiritual *universalism*, embracing poor and rich, learned and unlearned, in *one* mighty circle of mutual love. The grandeur of this intellectual revolution which led to the destruction of the ancient world and its all-important historical bearing, is often overlooked by narrow-minded bigots, who cannot see that in spite of deceit, treachery, and the incredible horrors of all kinds that disgraced the propagation of the Christian faith in utter contradiction to the principles of its founder, Christianity had a mighty germ of vitality in it. This germ was the monotheistic idea which led humanity first on the path of authoritative belief, and at a later period on that of scientific inquiry, to a higher, slow, but gradually progressive development. This movement was assisted by Judaism, in the shape of a set idealism with extremely concrete notions in reference to the personality of the Deity, and Moham-medanism with very practical notions of existence in this world to the honour of an "Allah," who promised infinite

earthly blessings in a *heavenly* abode. Under this three-fold monotheism the heathen gods and incarnations of the powers of nature passed away, and left to the thinkers of all future ages the possibility of differing or agreeing on special points, and trying to find out the laws of nature under the sway of their relative conceptions of a Deity, who, in spite of the difference of their creeds, remained *one*. The Jews believed in a creation out of nothing, but this nothing could be turned into innumerable somethings. The nothing did not exactly mean nothing at all, but only nothing so far as forms or distinct phenomena were concerned. Heaven and earth were produced at once, and so were light, day, and night. In these assertions there was nothing that checked philosophical inquiry, for though the "nothing theory" enabled theologians to stop progress for a time, this only remained possible so long as the old Greek philosophical principles were unknown. The "Monotheos" of the Jews was not altogether freed from the most concrete conceptions; he was not allowed to assume a visible form in stone, bronze, marble, or colours, but notwithstanding this restriction, the God of the Pharisees was not yet the invisible, all-pervading Spirit of the Universe, as with the Christians, but an irate, revengeful, sometimes kind Autocrat, who had His dwelling-place in Jerusalem, and His only favoured children the Jews. This, however, was a disputed point, and Philo Judæus already had loftier ideas, approaching, to a certain extent, the conception of Christ's Deity. The statement, "I am thy God," he explains, is made "by a certain figurative misuse of language rather than with strict propriety; for the living God, inasmuch as He is living, does not exist in relation to anything; for He himself is full of Himself, and He is sufficient for Himself, and He existed before the creation of the world, and equally after the creation of the universe; for He is immovable and unchangeable, having no need of any other thing or being whatever, so that all things belong to Him, but, properly speaking, He does not belong to anything." Christianity was founded on a still broader basis; it superseded all anthropomorphism, which, however, introduced

itself in time, step by step, during the historical development of the Romish Church, as a dogma in different but always disputed forms. For Christianity in its first origin, as pure ethics, took root in the lower, and worked itself gradually into the higher instructed classes, as the best means to educate the heart and to bring about a perfect balance between our moral and intellectual natures. During the crystallisation of the second phase, especially when Christianity became a state religion with a mighty hierarchy, and the spiritual kingdom of God in heaven was represented as a powerful priesthood on earth; when Greek casuists, Roman dialecticians, Hebrew exegists, Egyptian mystics, and Indian fanatics, each contributed their special component elements towards the formation of dogmatic Christianity, the purity of Christ's principles of universal brotherhood and love was lost, and any higher intellectual life or philosophical inquiry was silenced for centuries. The Jewish God of egotism was set up and surrounded by innumerable angels as His courtiers; the ancient gods and goddesses were revived in different shapes and forms as male and female saints. Religion again became symbolic in its ceremonies. The exclusive God of Israel was looked upon as the only God of the Catholics, and matter was cursed and accused of being the work of evil. The dualistic tendency of the Zend-Avesta was revived. The visible world and matter were assumed as the principles of sin, engendering weeping in man's home, anguish in his heart, inducing him to wickedness and leading him to perdition. Nothing could be more revolting to men swayed by such assumptions than a philosophy which occupied itself with a study of the properties of matter, trying to reduce even the phenomena of the intellectual and moral world to the rational laws of causation.

In opposition to, or rather between, Judaism and Christianity stood the third monotheistic religion, Mohammedanism. Allah was to be Allah and only Allah, but He did not forbid believers to study His creation for His glorification. It followed, therefore, that before the Arabs and Persians had made themselves acquainted with Greek philosophy, they

already spiritualised Allah to so broad an abstraction, that they could build up different realistic schools under the Abasides, in the endeavour to bring about a union between reason and faith. Averroes revived the principles of the peripatetic school of Athens in the twelfth century, and gave a new impulse to the study of Aristotle in a direction differing from that of the scholastics of the Christian Church. He propounded the eternity of the universe and of matter; taught that God's relation to the world was so near that God without a world or the world without a God was impossible, thus leading to pantheism; and finally treated of the essence of reason, which was assumed by him to be the divine universal force that manifested itself in single individuals. This theory combated the Christian and Mohammedan dogma of the individual immortality of the soul. In Averroes we have the connecting link between the ancient Greek philosophers and the scholastics of the Middle Ages. In addition to the revival of philosophy we are indebted to the Arabs for the sciences of mathematics, astronomy, geography, botany, chemistry, and the art of medicine. The Arabs were the propagators of a firm faith in the order of the universe. In opposition to the Greeks they founded this order, not so much on the properties of concrete matter, as on the eternal, immutable wisdom of the *one* and *indivisible* Deity and His spiritual nature. To trace in plants, animals, and men analogous phenomena; to find a connection between the apparently different products of the Creator, and to see in all of them a common source, was the fundamental principle of Arabian philosophy, and this could not remain without influence. The three monotheistic religions approached each other on the field of speculation and experience; they began to interchange ideas, to find analogies where they formerly found only hostile divergencies; and arts and sciences, after a long and dark night, became again possible. The theological idealism of Christianity, tempered by the realistic tendencies of the Mohammedans and the purified reflection of Hebrew monotheism, intermixed with Greek philosophy, served as a new starting-point. Man

was thus enabled to understand the *oneness* not only of idealism and realism, of science and art, of man and man, but of the whole universe, which he saw as one grand acting and reacting whole, in the sense of that masterly cosmical poem, the 104th Psalm, in which light or reason is called the garment of the Deity, who is ministered to by spirits and flaming fire—the spirits of thinking men and the flaming fire of the search for truth. God “stretched out the heavens like a curtain; He laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever; He sendeth the springs of the waters from the mountains into the valleys; He assigns to the fowls of heaven their habitation; He plants trees full of sap; He appointed the moon for seasons, and the sun to make day and night; He sends man forth to do his work; for the earth is full of His riches.” The greatest riches, however, are those which we gather on the field of study, in trying to trace in the historical past the ever-changing and ever-flowing springs of information, forming those immense streams of thoughts, theories, systems, discoveries, and inventions, which have all led gradually, despite their manifold modifications, to that immense spiritual ocean of knowledge, which will form the subject of my next paper on the historical development of idealism during the Middle Ages, under the special influence of Aristotle, beginning with Plotinus and ending with the immortal Bacon, the founder of modern philosophy.

REGISTER OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF CRAIL, FIFESHIRE. WITH HISTORICAL RE- MARKS.

BY THE REV. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D.

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CRAIL is a royal burgh situated on the eastern coast of Fife-shire, near the apex of that peninsula familiarly known as the *East Neuk*. Anciently written *Carrail*, *Caryl*, and *Karaile*, the name is derived from *caer*, a fortified place, and *ail*, a corner. A castle belonging to the Scottish kings occupied the rock which overhangs the present harbour, of which some vestiges remain. This structure was probably of ancient origin. Constantine, King of Scotland, while unsuccessfully contending with invading Norsemen, fell in battle among the rocks at Balcomie near Crail in 877.* He may have occupied the castle as a principal seat. To Sir Robert Sibbald, writing in 1710, it appeared as "the ruins of a strong castle." It was a favourite hunting-seat of David I. in the twelfth century, when he followed the chase in the adjoining territory of Kingsmuir. By a royal charter granted to the collegiate church of Crail, dated 24th November 1526, James V. describes the site of the church as "an ancient borough where sundry princes, his predecessors, had made their residence and dwelling-place, and as he and his successors might do in time to come as reasonable causes and occasions should befall." These expressions would imply that the castle was

* As to the precise locality we follow tradition. According to Mr J. Hill Burton, Constantine was killed near the Firth of Forth (History of Scotland, 1873, vol. i., p. 330).

inhabitable in the sixteenth century. The royal demesne of Crail was frequently included in the jointure lands of the Scottish queens.*

So early as the ninth century Crail was a place of considerable trade, merchants from the Netherlands resorting thither to purchase salted fish. As a commercial port, Crail received from King Robert the Bruce, in June 1310, a charter, in which privileges, granted to the burgesses and community by former kings, were duly confirmed.

From an early period Crail was connected ecclesiastically with the Cistercian Priory of Haddington. A Gothic chapel belonging to the priory formerly stood at the east end of the town near the sea-beach—the remains may still be traced. To the nuns of Haddington also belonged, with its teinds, the vicarage of St Mary's parish church of Crail. This structure was reared in the reign of David II., and probably by Sir William Dischington of Ardross, an ingenious architect.† In 1517 it was, on the petition and endowment of Sir William Myreton, with the consent of Janet, prioress of Haddington, erected into a collegiate church, with a provost, sacristan, ten prebendaries, and a chorister. Besides the high altar, which was richly endowed, there were in the church altarpieces dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St Catherine, St Michael, St James, St John the Baptist, St Stephen, St John the Evangelist, and St Nicholas.

During his visit to Fife, in June 1559, John Knox commenced his public crusade against Rome by preaching at Crail.‡ His vehement denunciation was attended by popular demonstrations,§ and the collegiate church was probably deprived of its ornaments; it was otherwise spared. Since the Reformation it has been used as the parish church.

Seventy-three feet long by forty-eight feet in breadth, the church consists of a central nave with aisles, divided by two

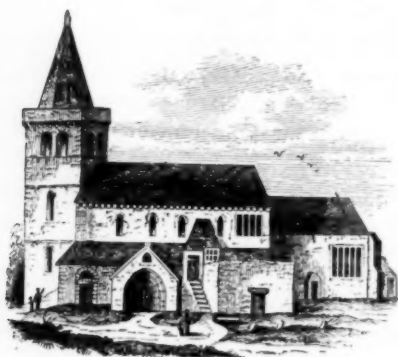
* Sibbald's History of Fife. Cupar-Fife, 1803, 8vo, p. 345.

† See *postea*.

‡ Knox's History of the Reformation, edit. 1846, vol. i., p. 347.

§ M'Crie's Life of John Knox, 4th edit., vol. i., p. 270.

rows of five pillars on each side, terminating at the east end in an apsis which had formed the choir. The pillars are Norman, but support Gothic arches. Over the site of the high altar are two large handsome windows, one in the eastern, the other in the southern wall of the church. The vestry, a strong, arched room, is situated behind the altar. It contained the vestments and ecclesiastical ornaments. On



CRAIL CHURCH.

the south wall of the church abutted the Lady Aisle, reared by Sir William Myreton; it is now a ruin.

On the overthrow of the Romish Church in 1560, John Melville, son of Richard Melville of Baldovie, and elder brother of the celebrated Andrew Melville, being appointed minister of Crail, proceeded to officiate in the collegiate church. His appointment was obnoxious to certain persons, as appears from his complaint on the 8th October 1561, that these threatened to "tak hym owt of the pulpot be the luggis, and chais hym owt of the town." He overcame his opponents, who were obliged penitentially to acknowledge their offence; but in the following January a decret was passed against him for conniving at a marriage to which there was an objection. His name, as minister of Crail, disappears in December 1565. His successor, Mr Thomas Kynneir, bound himself at

his admission to teach the school. He was presented to the provostry by James VI., on the 18th December 1575; but after two years was, on account of immoral conduct, deprived of office by the magistrates, and deposed by the General Assembly.* For stipend, as pastor and schoolmaster, he received £8, 6s. 8d.;† the other emoluments of the collegiate church having been conferred on Mr Robert Richardson, treasurer of the kingdom, who in 1561 was appointed commendator of St Mary's Aisle at Crail.‡

By a charter, dated at Edinburgh the 20th February 1586, James VI. granted to the bailies, council, and community of Crail a gift of the prebendaries, chaplainries, altarages, and colleges of Crail, with the endowments thereof.§ On the 1st April of the same year "David Maxwell, master of the grammar school at Crail, and prebend of the Holy Cross service formed within the collegiate church of Crail," summoned David Moncrieff and others for certain duties payable to the prebendary of the Holy Cross.|| By an Act of the Estates passed in 1594, the collegiate church of Crail was formally disjoined from "the abbey and monastery of Haddington," a third of the fruits being assigned to the minister serving the cure, and the other two-thirds as bursaries to theological students at the new college of St Andrews, and for the support of students of philosophy at the college of Edinburgh. Of the parochial cure and the bursaries Lord Lindsay was constituted patron.¶

The "Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail," a quarto volume written on parchment, and consisting of 118 folios, is preserved in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.** The writing is large and distinct, and many initial and other letters are illuminated. A few entries are in the vernacular, but the documents are chiefly in Latin, and consist of charters

* Fasti Eccles. Scot., vol. ii., pp. 415, 416.

† *Ib.*, p. 415.

‡ Crawford's Officers of State, 1726, fol., p. 383; Scot's Staggering State, edit. 1872, pp. 53, 127; Historical Commission's Report, part iv., p. 501.

§ Burgh Archives of Crail.

|| *Ib.*

¶ Acta Parl. Scot., iv. 74.

** Advocates Library, Edinburgh. Press mark, 34, 4, 6.

relating to the church, its constitution, and endowment, together with inventories of its furniture and ecclesiastical ornaments. Subsequent to the dissolution of the church, the register, together with the original instruments, of which it preserves the record, passed into the keeping of the town council of Crail. When Sir Robert Douglas was preparing his "Peerage," which appeared in 1764, he received from various public and private sources a vast collection of charters and registers of charters bearing on the subject of his work. From the burgh corporation of Crail he obtained a loan of the register of the collegiate church, the originals being retained in the burgh charter chest. Sir Robert was not prompt in returning any documents entrusted to him; and on his death his executors placed those found in his possession under care of the Commissary Court at Edinburgh. By public advertisement the Commissary of Edinburgh invited the owners of the documents to make formal application for them. Among the applicants was the municipal corporation of Crail; but on the entreaty of Mr Alexander Brown, keeper of the Advocates Library, that body allowed the volume to be deposited in the library, on condition that a transcript should be supplied to them. This condition was fulfilled, and the transcript, contained in a folio volume of 416 pages, bound in Russian leather, is now in keeping of the town-clerk of Crail. When Lieutenant, afterwards Lieutenant-General, Henry Hutton commenced his inquiries into the condition and history of Scottish religious houses, he made a strict investigation respecting the collegiate church of Crail. His correspondence in connection with it is preserved in the sixth volume of his "MS. Collections" in the Advocates Library; and to that correspondence we are indebted for many particulars relating to its history. Among Lieutenant Hutton's correspondents was Mr John Coldstream, Substitute-Clerk of the Commissary Court at Edinburgh, who, being son of the burgh schoolmaster of Crail, had been the medium of communication between the corporation and the keeper of the Advocates Library. In Mr Coldstream's letters, dated 5th January 1788

and 15th January 1790, it appears that the register found a place in the Advocates Library in 1788.

As the preserver of interesting details connected with the collegiate church, Lieutenant-General Hutton claims more than a passing notice. Only surviving son of Dr Charles Hutton, the eminent mathematician, he was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1761. On the 21st February 1777, he obtained a commission as second lieutenant in the royal artillery; he became first lieutenant 7th July 1779, and captain 21st May 1790. Devoted to archæological pursuits, he was, in May 1785, elected a corresponding member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; and to this society he presented, in February 1789, sketches of certain architectural devices from the abbey church of Melrose. He afterwards presented to the society the copy of a portrait of William the Lion, accompanied by an historical narrative.* After a period of service in the West Indies and at Gibraltar, he in 1794 was engaged with the forces under General Sir Charles Grey at the capture of the islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St Lucie. Subsequently he commanded the artillery at Grenada. A large part of Guadaloupe having been recovered by the enemy, he returned to that island, and being appointed to command a detachment of artillery at Berville, he sustained, in an unexpected attack of his opponents, the loss of his right eye, and was taken prisoner. Afterwards returning to Britain, he was, in 1802, promoted to the rank of major. He renewed the researches he had formerly prosecuted into the history and condition of Scottish religious houses. In 1803 he became lieutenant-colonel, and obtained a command in Ireland. He now corresponded with the clergy and other educated and intelligent persons in various parts of Scotland; and was successful in accumulating a collection of valuable materials. But he lacked the constructive faculty, and so was content to collect facts without arranging them. In 1811 he was advanced to the rank of major-general; he became lieutenant-general 19th July 1821. He died at Moate,

* *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii., p. 99.

near Athlone, in Ireland, on the 28th June 1827.* His MS. collections were sold after his decease. Two volumes—one consisting of letters and notes on the history of Scottish religious houses; the other, an annotated copy of Keith's "Scottish Bishops"—were secured for the British Museum, and are deposited among the Additional MSS. in that institution. But the more important portion of his collections, in twelve quarto volumes, were, through the enterprise of Dr David Laing of Edinburgh, purchased for the Advocates Library.

St Mary's church, we have seen, was erected into a collegiate institution on the endowment of Sir William Myreton. The Myreton family are said to have derived their name from an ancestor in the fourteenth century, who held office as *mair* of the barony of Crail, and whose own lands were designated Mairtoun. But it is more probable that the family were named from the character or condition of their lands—Myreton being a corrupt form of Muir-town. In 1361 is named William de Myrton, *dominus ejusdem*; and in 1364, Malcolm de Myrton, *de ejusdem*. The family afterwards acquired the lands of Cambo, in the same vicinity.†

On the 4th March 1402, William de Myrton of Cambo received from Simon Otyr, burgess of Crail, a charter of two tenements in that burgh. An instrument, dated 28th June 1457, and subscribed by "Alexander de Myrton," burgess of Cupar, described as "late dean of the cathedral church of Glasgow," and by "John de Myrton of Randalston, his brother-german," affirms that Thomas Myrton of Randalston had bequeathed to the chaplains of St Katherine's altar, in the church of Crail, an annual rent of twelve merks. In a legal instrument for settling a boundary, dated January 1485 and April 1486, is named Mr Andrew Myrtoun, chamberlain of William, Archbishop of St Andrews.‡

* In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1827, is contained a brief memoir of the general; and there is an account of his father in the number for March 1823, pp. 228-232.

† Wood's *East Neuk of Fife*, p. 38.

‡ Burgh Archives of Crail.

Sir William Myrton,* who in the register (No. 1) is described as cousin of David Myrton of Cambo, is, on the 3d March 1490, styled in the burgh records, "chaplain of St Michael the Archangel in the church of Crail." He then received, "in name of the archangel," seisin of a portion of land at Crail. An instrument is registered in the burgh records, whereby, on the 27th April 1495, Sir William Myrton, "canon and patron of the altar of St Michael," resigned his rights and privileges in favour of Sir John Ottyr, chaplain of the said altar. But he is again designated "chaplain of St Katherine's altar" in a charter, dated 22d March 1498, wherein John Myrton of Randalston conveyed to him six acres of land and a tenement in the Pottergate of Crail.†

By a presentation from Pope Julius II., dated 7th February 1509, Sir William Myrton was constituted vicar of Lathrisk, now Kingskettle, a central parish in Fife, and within the diocese of St Andrews. Whether he personally discharged the duties of his office is uncertain; but we find him, on the 9th October 1514, conveying by a public instrument to the magistrates and town council of Crail, the patronage of St Michael's altar, which he is declared to have founded.‡ To various endowments connected with the chaplainry of St Michael's altar, the charters in the register Nos. 1-12 specially refer.

In connection with St Mary's church, Sir William Myrton proceeded to endow other chaplainries. In a charter, preserved in the burgh archives, dated 15th October 1515, five chaplainries are named as endowed by him, viz., those of the Virgin Mary, St Michael the Archangel, St James the Apostle, St Bartholomew, and St Nicholas.

In a bull of Pope Leo X., dated "5th of the nones of May 1514," the Abbot of Cambuskenneth is authorised to pay to Sir William Myrton, "clerk of the diocese," twenty merks and fifteen golden ducats annually, from the rents and duties of

* Ecclesiastics who did not hold the degree of Master of Arts were styled Schir or Sir.

† Burgh Archives of Crail.

‡ *ib.*

the vicarage of Crail. By another papal bull of the same date, Sir William Myrton and the abbess of St Clare's monastery at Haddington, patron of the church at Crail, are empowered to admit Alexander Dunbar to the vicarage thereof.* These acts were initiatory to the carrying out of ampler arrangements and more enlarged endowments.

On the 3d March 1516, Alexander Dunbar, vicar of St Mary's church, signified his consent to exchange his office of vicar for that of provost "of the college founded in the church at Crail."† Proceedings in connection with that foundation then begun were completed in June 1517, when Andrew (Forman), Archbishop of St Andrews and Primate of Scotland, *legatus natus* and *legatus à latere*, granted apostolic and archiepiscopal sanction to the erection. The charters proceed at the instance and with the consent of Janet, prioress of the nunnery at Haddington, and patroness of St Mary's church; Alexander Dunbar, the vicar; and Sir William Myrton, "vicar of Lathresk." They provide that the vicarage should be suppressed, and substituted by the college kirk of Crail. The college, it was further provided, should consist of a provost, ten prebendaries (seven of which should be in place of chaplainries previously founded by Sir William Myrton), and a clerk. The duties and endowments of the provost, prebends, and clerk, are in the charters duly set forth, and the right of presentation fixed. The three several instruments of foundation are those forming Nos. 101-103 of the register. Thereafter follows a royal charter of confirmation and mortification sanctioned by Parliament, and dated the 24th November 1526. This document, which, with the other charters founding the college church, is preserved in the burgh archives of Crail, has the seal attached, along with the seals and signatures of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar of Glasgow; Bishop George Crichton of Dunkeld; Bishop Gavin Dunbar of Aberdeen; James, Earl of Moray; James, Earl of Douglas; the Earl of Arran, and other officers of state. A further charter of con-

* Burgh Archives of Crail.

† Register, No. 102.

firmation, by the Archbishop of St Andrews, No. 121, was issued on the 29th June 1530.

By a charter in the burgh archives, dated the 9th November 1525, Sir William Myrton established in connection with the collegiate church a grammar school and a school of music. In an instrument of seisin in favour of Sir David Bowman,* prebend of the collegiate church, dated 7th June 1539, it appears that Sir William Myrton was at that time deceased; the precise date of his death is unknown. Members of the family of Myrton continued to hold office as ecclesiastics, several being connected with the collegiate church. Sir Thomas Myrton, Archdean of Aberdeen, is named in a charter by Sir William Myrton, dated at Crail the 20th April 1526. Mr Patrick Myrton, Archdean of Aberdeen, and the provost and prebends of the collegiate church at Crail, were parties to a contract, dated 26th August 1546. In a legal instrument, dated Edinburgh, 11th February 1569, Patrick Myrton is described as "treasurer of Aberdeen," and "provost of the collegiate church of Crail." By a deed of presentation under the privy seal, dated Dalkeith, 6th April 1576, Mr William Myrton is appointed to the provostry of Crail, then vacant through the non-compearance of Mr Patrick Myrton, last provost thereof.†

The subsequent history of the families of Myrton, afterwards Morton, may be briefly referred to. Arthur Mortoun was, on the 6th August 1622, served heir of Grizel Mortoun, his mother, in the lands of Randalstoun and Ladylands, in

* On the 5th October 1542, Sir David Bowman, described as prebendary of the altar of St James the Apostle in the college church, grants a charter, establishing or rather extending the endowment of the grammar school at Crail, "in favour of his kinsman, Mr John Bowman, priest, and his successors, priests and preceptors of the grammar school of Crail, at the altar of St John the Baptist in the said college church, to offer prayers for the prosperity and safety of James V. and Mary, his queen; of Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews; and for his own soul, and those of his father, mother, and brothers deceased." The endowment consisted of six and a half acres of land, with various other crofts and tenements (Dr John Lee's *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*. Edin. 1860, vol. i., pp. 49, 334-340).

† Burgh Archives of Crail.

the parish of Crail.* Thomas Mortoun was, on the 30th September 1623, served heir of William Mortoun, his father, in the lands and barony of Cambo; also, on the 19th December 1628, in the lands of Easter Balrymouth, near St Andrews, also in succession to his father.† In the barony of Cambo, Thomas Mortoun was, on the 18th February 1646, succeeded by his son Patrick, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Preston of Airdrie, by whom he had a son, Robert, and two daughters. According to a respectable authority,‡ Sir Patrick, on account of his wife's extravagance and his own, was obliged to part with his inheritance, which he sold in 1668 to Sir Charles Erskine, Lord Lyon, brother of the Earl of Kelly. It would appear, however, that Robert Mortoun, only son of Sir Patrick, was, on the 3d May 1698, served heir in a portion of the barony.§ Arthur Mertoun or Morton, a scion of the families of Randalston or Cambo, was admitted minister of Crail in 1640; he died in 1645, about the age of forty-four. A work from his pen was published posthumously, entitled "The Touchstone of Conversion."||

Among those named in the register as parties to or witnesses of contracts, or as members of the collegiate church, are many persons who are still represented in eastern Fife-shire. In this respect the register may prove serviceable in matters of family history. Owing to eminent members which they produced, three families in the register claim special notice—those of Dishington, Carstares, and Chalmers. "Sir William Dischynton, chaplain," is named in instrument No. 69; and in Nos. 75-82 are charters relating to George Dischynton, fiar of Ardress; his son and heir William is named in No. 82.

From King Robert the Bruce William de Dischynton received the lands of Balglassie, Aberlemno, and others in

* *Inquisitiones Speciales*, Fife, 326.

† *Id.*

‡ *The East Neuk of Fife*. By the Rev. Walter Wood. Edin. 1862. Pp. 180, 275.

§ *Inquisitiones Speciales*, Fife, 1402.

|| *Fasti Eccles. Scot.*, ii., p. 417.

the county of Forfar.* Prior to the year 1330 he married Elizabeth, the king's younger sister.† Of his two sons, John, the younger, obtained the lands of Longhermiston. William, the elder, was by David II., his cousin, knighted and appointed steward of the palace. In 1368 he received a royal charter of a third part of the barony of Ardrross, on the south coast of Fife, in succession to his relative, John Burnard. He also obtained in the same year a charter of the lands of Kynbrachmont. A skilful architect, he constructed the castle of Ardrross, on a cliff overlooking the sea-shore near Elie, of which the ruins remain. He also reared the parish church of St Monan's, in the same district, and was in consequence styled *Magister Fabricæ Sancti Monani*.‡ The church of St Monan's was erected at the cost of David II., to denote his gratitude to God for being preserved in a storm which overtook him and his queen, Margaret de Logie, when crossing the firth to visit William de Dischington, at Ardrross. Not improbably, the king employed his relative in constructing the other ecclesiastical edifices reared during his reign. He was probably the architect of St Mary's church at Crail. His descendant, Sir William Dishington, Lord of Ardrross, obtained, on the 30th July 1409, a charter of the lands of Ardery and Tollery, in Crail parish.§ His descendants are frequently named in the register; also in the burgh records. A fragment of an old ballad of unknown date and authorship has these lines:

“ Were you e'er in Crail toun?
Saw you there clerk Dishington?

To see the wonders o' the deep
Wad gar a man baith wail and weep;
To see the leviathan skip,
And wi' his tail ding owre a ship!”

The “clerk” thus satirised for his alleged “romancing” was probably that clerk in orders, Sir William Dishington, named

* Robertson's Index, pp. 18, 34. † Wood's East Neuk of Fife, pp. 33, 254.

‡ Chamberlain's Rolls, i. 496, 524.

§ Fourth Report of Royal Historical Commission, part i., 495.

in the register, No. 69. His history is otherwise unknown. Thomas, George, and Andrew Dishington were delated for being concerned in the murder of Rizzio.* Thomas Dishington of Ardross married in 1598 Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Scott of Elie; he sold to his father-in-law in 1611 half the barony of Ardross for 84,140 merks, or about £4450 sterling.† George Dishington was admitted to the pastoral charge of Cults, Fifeshire, in 1656. He died in 1673, bequeathing his estate of Lochmalony, which he had acquired by purchase, to his son George.‡ The family of Dishington in the male line henceforth disappears from Fifeshire.

An Act of the Estates, passed in December 1597, provided that all landowners in the Highlands and islands should be compelled to produce their title-deeds. This enactment was resisted by two branches of the Macleods, and accordingly the island of Lewis, which they claimed as their property, was granted to a number of Fifeshire gentlemen for the purpose of colonisation. These gentlemen, under the leadership of Learmonth of Balcomie, proceeded to Lewis with a force of six hundred men, and there landed in October 1599. But their attempt to effect a settlement was stoutly opposed by the Macleods, and the greater number of them were slain. Those who escaped set sail for Orkney, and among them was John Dishington, a younger son of the laird of Ardross. Acknowledged as a relative by the Earl of Orkney, his lordship's father being an illegitimate son of James V., John Dishington was by him appointed sheriff and commissary of Orkney and Shetland. In his "Notes on Orkney and Zetland," Peterkin mentions him as conducting processes of perambulation of the earldom, bishopric, and other lands, in 1602 and 1604.§ Several descendants of John Dishington were officers in the Royal Navy and ministers of the Church. Among the latter was the Rev. Andrew Dishington, succes-

* Wood's East Neuk of Fife, p. 255.

† *Id.*

‡ Fasti Eccles. Scot., ii. 484.

§ Notes on Orkney and Zetland, by Alexander Peterkin. Edin. 1822. Vol. i., 8vo, pp. 122, 123; Appendix No. II., p. 29.

sively minister of Mid and South Yell, and of Stronsay and Eday. To the patron of the parish he was recommended by the Princess Amelia and Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, both of whom had been impressed by his eloquence. Sir Hew Dalrymple's letter on his behalf, a curious medley, was published in the *Bee*, and has been often reprinted. After indulging in a panegyric on his pulpit talents, Sir Hew describes him as having "but one weakness, that of preferring the Orkneys to all the earth." The Rev. Andrew Dishington was ordained in 1768, and died on the 23d November 1819, aged seventy-five.* He left three sons and six daughters; but the house of Dishington is in the male line now represented by his nephew, Mr Thomas Dishington, of Laverock Bank Terrace, Trinity, near Edinburgh.

In charters Nos. 42 and 43, dated 1518 and 1521, Henry Carstares and his father, William Carstares, citizen of St Andrews, are named. The latter, in October 1483, obtained from John Lok, canon of Brechin, a charter of a tenement in South Street, St Andrews, which in 1503 he assigned to his daughter Beatrix. He also held lands at Crail. His descendant, the Rev. William Carstares, latterly Principal of the University of Edinburgh, was the friend and counsellor of William III.†

In the register (No. 109) is named, in an instrument dated 7th December 1555, a member of a Fifeshire family which produced the celebrated Dr Thomas Chalmers. In his signature he styles himself "Master John Chalmer, vicar-pensionary." The family of Chalmer or Chalmers (*de Camera*) migrated into Fife from Aberdeenshire.

The inventory of ornaments and vestments included in the register is not without a special interest as exhibiting the paraphernalia used in Scottish churches at a period immediately prior to the Reformation.

* *Fasti Eccles. Scot.*, iii., pp. 409, 433.

† Conolly's *Fifiana*, 1869, 8vo, p. 121; Story's *Life of Principal Carstares*, 1874, 8vo, p. 3; Wood's *East Neuk of Fife*, pp. 135, 297.

ABSTRACTS OF DOCUMENTS IN REGISTER.

1. Charter of sale and alienation, by David Myrtone of Cambo, to his cousin, Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, of an annual rent of ten merks furth of the granter's lands of Cambo and Belseis, lying in the constabulary of Carail and sheriffdom of Fyff, to be uplifted at Whitsunday and Martinmas by equal portions, for 200 merks Scots money, paid to him by the said Sir William, to be held by him and his assignees, chaplain or chaplains of the chaplainry or chaplainries, at the altar of St Michael the Archangel, in the parish church of Carail, newly founded, or to be founded by the said Sir William, put in by him, or afterwards to be put in by the patrons, in fee and heritage. Reddendo one penny Scots if asked, in name of blench farm only. Dated at the granter's manor of Cambo, 6th October 1511. Witnesses—Robert Cunynghame of Westbarnys, Alexander Myrtone, younger lord of Cambo; Robert Caluart, James Carnow, Robert Gerwes, John Drag, Robert Parke, John Hog, John Bell, and John Myrtone.

2. Instrument of seisin to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, of the above annual rent of ten merks Scots, out of the lands of Cambo and Belseis, whereupon the said Sir William, moved by devotion, and for the increase of divine worship and service at the chaplainries, founded by him at the altar of St Michael the Archangel, in the parish church of Carail, resigned the said annual rent in the hands of David Myrtone of Cambo as superior, reserving to the said Sir William the franktenement* thereof, while he lived, at his will and pleasure; after which resignation, seizin of the same was given to Sir Symon Hendersone and Andrew Martyne, chaplains of the chaplainries, founded by the said William, as aforesaid, to be uplifted by them, and divided equally between them, as assignees of the said Sir William Myrtone. The seisin is given by David Myrtone of Cambo and Belseis, *propriis manibus*, by delivery of one penny. Done on the grounds of the said lands, 6th October 1511. The

* Freehold.

witnesses are the same as in the preceding charter. Notary—Robert Lawson, master of arts, jurist of the diocese of St Andrews.

3. Obligation by David Myrtone of Cambo, whereby he binds himself, his heirs, executors, and assignees, to his "lovit and tendir kynisman, Schir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, and his assignais, and chaplanis, be hyme foundit, or to be foundit, at the altar of St Michell, wythin the paroche kyrk of Caraill," to warrand and keep to him and them the said annual rent of ten merks yerely, of the lands of Cambo and Belseis, free and "immvne" from ward, terce, relief, forfalt, tax, or recognition that might come upon the said lands, binding himself and his heirs to pay the same in any case, with damages, increase, etc., and subjecting himself to the official ordinary of St Andrews to put the obligation to execution, binding further all his lands and goods, in security for payment of the said annual rent. Dated at Cambo, 6th October 1511. Witnesses as in the charter. John Drag's name is spelt Darg, and the younger laird of Cambo is called "Alexander Myrten, zong lard of Cambo."

4. Charter of sale, by David Myrtone of Cambo, to his well beloved kinsman, Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, of an annual rent of two merks, out of his lands of Cambo and Belseis, lying in the constabulary of Carail, and sherifffdom of Fife, for a sum of money paid by the said William to the granter, to be held by the said William and his assignees, chaplain or chaplains of the chaplainry or chaplainries at the altar of St Michael the Archangel, in the parish church of Carail, of new founded, or to be founded by the said William, to be appointed by him or the patrons of the chaplainry, in fee and heritage, with power to them to uplift the same, and to poind and distrain when needful, paying one penny Scots if asked only. The granter's seal is affixed at Carail, 14th October 1512. Witnesses—John Rychartstone, John Bell, Alexander Rychartstone, Robert Ramsay, John Hog, Sir Patrick Mawchlyne, and Sir Andrew Martyn, chaplains.

5. Instrument of seizin by David Myrton of Cambo and Belseis, *propriis manibus*, in favour of the said Sir William Myrtone, of the said annual rent of two merks, which the latter, moved with godly devotion, resigned again in the hands of the said David as superior,

by delivery of a penny, reserving the franktenement to the said Sir William, who afterwards invested Sir Symon Henderson, chaplain of the chaplainries founded by the said Sir William at the altar of St Michael foresaid, in the church of Carail, in the foresaid annual rent, according to the charter foresaid, and mortification afterwards to be made and expedie by the said Sir William. Done on the ground of the lands of Cambo and Belseis, 15th October 1512. Witnesses—Alexander Myrtone, James Carnow, John Bell, Alexander Garyndar, and Robert Ramsay.

6. Obligation by David Myrtone of Cambo "to his lovit and tendir kynnisman, Schir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, and his assignais and chaplanis, foundit be him or to be foundit at the altar of Sanct Michael, within the paryche kyrk of Carail," to warrant to him and them the said annual rent of two merks out of the lands of Cambo and Belseis, and to make the payment good from any lands belonging to him, as in the previous obligation, and subjecting himself to the judgment of the official principal of St Andrews. Dated at Carail, 16th October 1512. Witnesses—Jhone Rycherson, Jhone Bell, Alexander Rycherson, Robert Ramsay, Jhone Hog, Schir Patrick Mawchtlyne, and Sir Andro Martyne, chaplains.

7. Charter of alienation by Robert Ramsay, laird of Balmunth, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, of an annual rent of ten merks Scots from his lands of Balmunth, lying in the constabulary of Carail and sherifffdom of Fyff, for 200 merks, paid to the granter by the said Sir William, to be held by the said Sir William and his assignees, chaplains or chaplain of the chaplainry of St Michael the Archangel, in the parish kirk of Carail, in fee and heritage, for the yearly payment of one penny Scots, at the head messuage, in name of blench farm, if asked only. Dated at Balmunth, 10th August 1513. Witnesses—Sir James Halden, chaplain; William Anstruder, Andrew Andersone, Robert Andersone, William Jonsone, John Jonsone, Alexander Clark, and George Wallace.

8. Instrument of seizin by Robert Ramsay, laird of Balmunth, to Sir William Myrtone, of the foresaid ten merks, out of the lands of Balmunth, who forthwith resigns the annual rent again in Balmunth's hands, by delivery of a penny, reserving to himself the frank-

tenement, whereupon sasine was given by the said Robert Ramsay to Sir Symon Henryson and Andrew Martyne, chaplains of the chaplainries founded by the said Sir William at the altar of St Michael, to be uplifted and divided equally betwixt them yearly, as assignees of the said Sir William. Present—William Cornell, Alexander Clerk, Andrew Anderson, Robert Anderson, William Jhonsone, John Jhonsone, and George Wallace. James Halden, presbyter of St Andrews diocese, notary public.

9. Letters of obligation by Robert Ramsay, laird of Balmunth, binding himself, his heirs, etc., to Sir William Myrtone, "vicar of the parych kyrk of Lawthresk, and his assignais and chaplains," founded or to be founded at the altar of St Michael, as before, to warrand to him and them the said annual rent of ten merks out of the lands of Balmunth, and also obliging him and his foresaids, "efter that owthir perturbing, vexing, or inquieting, or stop quhatsumevir be maid," where through the said annual rent might not be peaceably enjoyed by the said Sir William, etc., to pay to him and his assignees, chaplains, the sum of 400 merks, within forty days after it was "notourly knawyn,"* and the damage and skaith† sustained thereby. Referring himself to the jurisdiction ordinar of the official principal of St Andrews to put the obligation to execution, and obliging all his lands and goods for the said sum. Dated at Balmunth, 11th August 1513. Witnesses—Schir James Haldane, chaplain and notar; William Anstruder, Andro Andersone, Robert Andersone, William Jhonsone, Jhone Jhonsone, Alexander Clarke, and George Wallace.

10. Charter of sale and alienation by Alexander Borthwyke, lord of fee of the lands of Balhulfie and Gordonishall, with consent of John Borthwyke, his grandfather, lord of the franktenement of the same, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthryske, of an annual rent of twenty merks Scots, furth of his lands of Balhulffie, Gordonishall, and Petmerth, lying in the sheriffdom of Fyff, for 400 merks paid to him, to be held by him and his assignees, chaplain or chaplains of the chaplainry at the altar of St Michael, etc., in fee and heritage for ever, paying therefor one penny Scots yearly in name of blench farm, if asked only. Sealed with his seal and that of the said John Borthwyke, his grandfather, in token of his assent. Dated

* Generally known.

† Injury.

at Balhuffie, 14th October 1512. Witnesses—Master Daid Spens, rector of Fyske; Robert Cunyngam of West Bernys; William Couttis, John Rychersone, Alexander Rychersone, and others. (Signed) Alexander Borthuik, *manu propria tangendo pennam*; Johan Borthuik, *manu propria tangendo pennam*.

11. Instrument of seizin, given by the said Alexander Borthweke, of the foresaid annual rent of twenty merks yearly furth of his lands of Balhuffie, Gordonishall, and Petmerth, to the said Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, by the delivery of a penny. Done at the chief messuage of the lands of Balhuffie, 14th October 1512. Present—honourable and discreet men, Mr Daid Spens, rector of Fliske; Daid Myrtone of Cambo, Robert Cwnyngame of West Bernis, John Mailvile of Granttone, Schir Patrick Mauchling, chaplain; William Couttis, William Wod, Alexander Richartsone, and Schir David Cristison (Cristini), chaplain, notary public. (Signed) Daid Gregor, clerk of diocese of St Andrews, notary public.

12. Obligation by Alexander Borthuyke, "lard of fee of the landis of Balhulfie and Gordonishall," with consent of his "grantschir,* Jhon of Borthwyke, lard of the franktenement of the samyn landis, to Schir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthryske," etc., to warrant the said annual rent of twenty merks from all ward, terce,† etc., that might affect the said lands. "And noucht gainstanding ony writ, promys, or obligatione, maid be me, the said Alexander, tyll my said grandschir and my fader, Jhone of Borthwyke, anent the infesting of my fader for lyferent in the saidis landis of Balhuffie and Gordonishall, and anent ane racionablie terce grantyt to my grantschir gyf it happynis hym till mare." Dated at Balhuffie, 16th October 1512. Witnesses as above, with Jhone Rychersone, Alexander Clarke, Androw Andersone, Robert Andersone, and Schir Androw Martyne, notar public. (Signed) Alexander Borthuik, *manu propria tuchand the pen*; Johannes Borthuik, *manu propria twichand the pen*.

13. Notarial instrument, certifying that on the 13th May 1519, an honourable man, Alexander Borthwyke of Gordonishall, and Sir

* Grandfather.

† Widow's liferent.

William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, speaking together mutually, entered into a contract, viz., That whereas the said Alexander had sold to Sir William Myrtone and his assignees, prebendars of the collegiate church of Carail, twenty merks of annual rent furth of his lands of Gordonishall, Balhuffie, and Petmerth; and the said Sir William, with consent of the prebendars of the said college, gave the said Alexander a letter of reversion anent redemption of the said annual rent, on payment of 400 merks Scots; the foresaid Alexander Borthuyke and Sir William Myrtone agreed that Sir William should pay the said Alexander 100 merks Scots, and the said Alexander should renounce the said letter of reversion, which was accordingly done; quitclaiming the said Sir William and prebendaries of the college of Carail of receiving the said sum of 400 merks and resignation of the annual rent; and the said Alexander bound himself to observe the agreement by oath. Done at Carail. Present—Master Thomas Cunynghame, tutor of West Bernis; Master William Scot of Balwery, Knight; and Master James Wischart. (Signed) Andrew Martyne, presbyter of St Andrews diocese, notary public.

14. Charter of sale by Master Thomas Meldrum, lord of Newhall, to a venerable and circumspect man, Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthreske, of an annual rent of ten pounds Scots, from the lands of Newhall, in the shire of Fyff and barony of Glennesk, for the sum of 200 pounds good gold and legal money of Scotland, paid to him by the said vicar; to be held by the said Sir William and his assignees, chaplains and prebendaries, doing divine service in the collegiate church of Caraille, of the granter and his heirs, in fee and heritage; paying one penny at Whitsunday at the chief messuage of the lands of Newhall in name of blench. Dated at Newhall, 16th March 1518. Witnesses—David Myrtone of Cambo, William Myrtone, his son and heir; Alexander Monypenny, John Bell, John Rychartsone, James Corstorphine, and Sir William Dewar, chaplains.

15. Instrument of seizin of the above annual rent, given by Thomas Meldrum, *propriis manibus*, by delivery of a penny into the vicar's right hand. Done on the grounds of the lands of Newhall, 16th March 1518. Same witnesses. Andrew Martyne, notary.

16. Obligation by Thomas Meldrum, "lard of Newhall," warrant.

ing the said payment under penalty, in case of failure of paying 400 lib. in place of 200 lib., paid by Sir William Myrtone to him, together with costs, etc., to be paid on the "Hee altar" of the said college kirk within forty days after failure. Nevertheless the fore-said charter to remain in force, and the official principal of St Andrews to put the obligation in execution. Dated at the Newhall, 16th March 1518. Same witnesses.

17. Charter of sale by John Claphane, lord of Claslogye, to Sir William Myrtene, vicar of Lawthresk, and his assignees prebendars doing divine service in the college kirk of Carail, of the granter's two crofts in the constabulary of Carail and sheriffdom of Fyff, and within the burgh of Carail—one called Regandis Croft, containing six acres of land in Potergait, on the north side thereof, between the lands belonging to the services of our Lady, the high altar, and St Katherine of the college kirk of Carail, and the common lone* on the other three sides; the other croft in the Potergait, on the south side thereof, between the lands of Alexander Clark on the east, the lands of the late Archibald Todryk on the south, a burn on the west, and the common lone on the north sides—for 140 pounds Scots paid by the said Sir William; to be held in fee and heritage from the granter, paying to the king the king's maill due and wont, viz., for Regandis Croft, thirty pennies; for the other, ten pennies. Dated at Trinity of St Andrews, 3d September 1518. Witnesses—Sir Thomas Myrtone, Archdean of Aberdeen; David Lermonth of Clattow, Alexander Monypenny, George Clapane.

18. Instrument of sasine of the above two crofts. Dated 4th September 1518. Present—David Lermonth, Andrew Martyne, notary.

19. Obligation by John Clapanne of Claslogye and George Clapanne, his son and heir, to Sir William Myrtone and his assignees, chaplains doing divine service in the college kirk of Carail, recounting the payment by Sir William Myrtone of sevenscore pounds, which the said John Clapane gave to William Cornwell for the redeeming of eleven acres of lands of Ternakiters, "not to inquiet, distrobill,† molest, vex, stop, nor lat"‡ the said Sir William, his

* Common possession, or place of shelter.

† Disturb.

‡ Hinder.

assignees, or their tenants, in "brukyn, using, and law boring" the said two crofts of lands, under the penalty of repaying and refunding 400 merks "on Sancte Katrinis alter, situat in the college kyrk of Carail," within twenty days. The said charter still to remain in force. Dated at Sanct Andris, 3d September 1518. * Witnesses as in charter.

20. Charter of sale by John Lummysden of Ardre to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, of an annual rent of six merks Scots out of his lands of Sepseis, in his barony of Ardre and sheriffdom of Fyff, between the lands of West Bernis and Trostre on the west, the lands of Lytill Pedfeld on the south, the proper moor of the burgh of Carail on the north, and the common lone of Carail on the east, for 120 merks good gold, money of Scotland, paid therefor. To be held by him and his assignees, chaplains (as before) in fee and heritage. Reddendo one penny yearly at the chief messuage of the lands of Seipseis in name of blench ferm if asked only. Dated at Carail, 20th April 1517. Witnesses—Master Thomas Cunynghame, Master Thomas Lummysden, Master Richard Clark, William Rychartson, Sir William Turnour, James Pitblawds, and Sir Andrew Martyne, notary public.

21. Charter by John Lummysden to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, of his three crofts of land within the burgh of Carail, one croft lying between the lands of the laird of Westbernis at the west, and a vennel called Lamene Wynd at the east; another croft between the said vennel called Lamene Wynd at the west, and the lands of the late William Cas at the east; the other croft, called Toddiss Croft, between the land belonging to the service of our Lord's high altar of the parish church of Caral on the east, and John Cas's land on the west. In special warrandice of the above annual rent of six merks. Reddendo one penny yearly if asked only. Date and witnesses as in last.

22. Obligation by John Lumysdene of Ardre to Schir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, to "warrant, acquit, and defend" the foresaid annual rent of six merks out of his lands of Sepseis to him and his assignees, under penalty of eight score pounds Scots; submitting to the ordinary jurisdiction of the official principal of St

Andrews. At Sepseis, 20th April 1517. Witnesses as in charter, except Sir Andrew Martyne, notary.

23. Instrument of sasine in favour of Sir William Myrtone of the above annual rent of six merks, 20th April 1517. [Part of instrument wanting.]

24. Charter of sale by William Monypenny of Petmulye to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, of an annual rent of four merks Scots, out of his lands of Petmulye, lying within the constabulary of Carail and sheriffdom of Fyffe, between the lands of Kilduncane and Fausyd at the west, the lands of Byrhyll on the north, the sea on the east, and the lands of Kyngis Bernis on the south, for forty lib. Scots, paid by Sir William Myrtone to him. To be held by Sir William and his assignees, chaplains or chaplain ministering in the parish church of Carail, of the granter and his heirs in fee and heritage, for payment of a penny Scots at Whitsunday at the chief messuage of the lands of Petmulie, in name of blensh. At Petmulye, 9th November 1517.

25. Instrument of seizin thereon, 9th November 1517. Done at the chief messuage of the lands of Petmulye, Richard Clark, Master of Arts, presbyter of St Andrews diocese, notary.

26. Charter of sale by David Spens, laird of Wilmerstone,* to Sir William Myrtone, chaplain, of two acres of land lying in the burgh of Carail, on the north side called the Potergait, between the lands belonging to the service of St Michael on the east and north, and the common "loyne"† on the south, and the "dammis"‡ on the west, two roods of the said two acres lying in the Potergait between the lands of David Calfhird on the east, the land belonging to the service of St Katherine's on the west, the common loan on the south, and the land pertaining to the service of St Michael's on the north; also three roods of land lying in the Potergait, on the south side thereof, between John Richardson's lands on the east, the lands belonging to the service of St Mary's on the west, and the common loan on the north; also a croft called the Rudwell Croft, lying on the east side of the churchyard of the parish church of Carail, and so

* Now called Wormiston. † A loan, or narrow enclosed way. ‡ Mill-dam.

passing to the dwelling-house of the vicar of Carail down to the rivulet, and going down the rivulet to the common road on the south, and so to the lands of Simon Henryson on the west; also another croft called Colpote Croft, lying in the east street on the south side of the bridge called the East Brig, between the lands of the deceased Alexander Balcomy on the west, the common road on the north, and the common vennel that goes to the gate of Pinkirtoune on the east, and another vennel that goes to the Bark Pottis on the south; also a tenement builded with a yard and rood of land lying in Marketgate (*vico fori*); and a croft lying in South Street, as therein bounded and described, for £85 paid to him by Sir William Myrtone. To be held from the granter of the king in free burgage, fee and heritage for ever. Paying borough mail for all other burdens, etc., except 16 pennies pertaining to the service of St Mary's. Dated at the burgh of Carail, 15th July 1517. Witnesses—Master Dauid Spens, rector of Flysk; Robert Cunynghame of West Bernis, David Myrtone of Cambo, John Lummysdene of Ardre, John Abircrummy, George Kenlowy, James Spens, Archibald Todryk, William Clark, John Masone, serjeant of the burgh of Carail; and Sir John Lummysden and George Lummysden, chaplains; and Dauid Greige, notary public.

27. Instrument of sasine in favour of Sir William Myrtone in the foresaid two acres, etc. The sasine is given by Thomas Wemys, one of the bailies of the burgh, 15th July 1500 [1517]. Witnesses as in charter, and the following, viz.: Patrick Hepburne of Beneston, John Greme, John Gyprone, George Chartare, John Schirray, John Robertson, James Kay, Richard Cragy, James Carnie, and Dauid Greige, clerk of diocese of St Andrews, notary.

28. Instrument of sasine, proceeding on resignation and renunciation, by Marjory Anstrothir, relict of Alexander Spens of Bradeleys, for all right she had to the above two acres, etc., by reason of conjunct fee, terse or otherwise, in favour of David Spens of Wilmerstoun, her eldest son, and heir of the said lands; whereupon David Wemys, one of the bailies of the burgh, cognosced and infested the said David Spens, as heir of the said Alexander Spens, in the said lands, by delivery of earth and stone, as use is. Done in the tolbooth and on the ground of the said lands, 15th July 1517. Witnesses same as above.

29. Charter of sale by William Spens, son and heir of the late John Spens, to Sir William Myrtone, chaplane, of four roods of land lying on the south side of the Potergait of the burgh of Carail, on both sides of some lands belonging to the service of the altar of the Holy Rood of Carail; also 10s. of annual rent out of two tenements lying contiguous in the Mercatgait of Carail; also an annual rent of 4d. due to the granter from the tenement of Thomas Balcomy, lying in the Mercatgait; for a sum of money paid to the said William Spens by the said Sir William. To be held by him and his assignees to be constituted by him during his life, all his heirs excluded from the granter, his heirs and assignees, in fee and heritage for ever, paying burgh maill. Binding himself farther on oath not to alienate any other annual rent out of the two tenements from which the 10s. were to be taken without the special license of the said Sir William; whereas these were free from all annual rent except burgh maill and 2s. Dated at Carail, 2d July 1500. Witnesses—Master John Bonar, Symon Campyone, John Sanchar, John Fowlis, and James Carnoch.

30. Instrument of seizin thereon, given by Thomas Wemys, one of the bailies, 3d July 1500. Witnesses—John Wemys, John Robert-sone, Archibald Toddrick, John Dawsons, Alexander Storroure, John Wodcok, etc. Symon Campione, clerk of diocese of St Andrews, notary.

31. Charter by Jonet Wylko, spouse of umquhile David Calfhird, indweller in Kyngis Bernis, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Law-thresk and his assignees, all his heirs excluded, of an acre of land lying in the burgh of Caraille in the Potergait, on the north side thereof, between the lands of Sir William Myrtone on the east, west, and north sides, and the common loan on the south, for a sum of money, to be held of her, her heirs and assignees, in fee and heritage. At Carail, 10th September 1510. Witnesses—Sir John Lummysdene, Sir David Gawe, Sir Andrew Martyne, chaplains; John Cas, John Blak, John Abircrummy, and James Parke.

32. Instrument of seizin thereon, given by John Cas, bailie of the burgh of Caraille, 11th September 1510.

33. Charter of sale by Sir Andrew Ballone, canon regular of the

monastery of St Andrews, with consent of John, prior of the metropolitan church of St Andrews, his superior, and of his special license, to Sir Thomas Preston, vicar of St Andrews, of his tenements in the city of St Andrews, one in the South Street thereof, another in the Marketgate of the same city, for a sum of money paid to him by the said Sir Thomas. To be held from the granter, his heirs and assignees, in fee and heritage, paying to the chaplain serving at St Bartholomew's altar within the parish church of St Andrews, 8s.; the chaplain serving at the altar of the Holy Rood, 2s.; to the chaplain serving at St Ninian's altar, 2s. yearly; and burgh maill used and wont to the Archbishop of St Andrews. Dated at the monastery of St Andrews, 12th March 1515. Witnesses—John Wardlaw, bailie of the said city; Sir John Mathe, curate; Sir John Preston, chaplain; John Malyne, Robert Lawson, Henry Cant, Andrew Couper, Adam Peblis, and Henry Peblis, serjeant.

34. Charter of sale by Sir Andrew Ballone, canon regular of St Andrews, with consent, as in last charter, to Sir Thomas Preston, vicar of St Andrews, of the same tenements. The seal of the prior is appended to this charter in witness of his assent, 12th March 1515.

35. Instrument of sasine in the above two tenements, 12th March 1515. Witnesses—Sir John Mathe, chaplain; Robert Lawson, baker; Henry Cant, Adam Peblis, William M'Alexander, and Henry Peblis, serjeant; John Preston, priest of St Andrews diocese, notary. Sasine is given by Thomas Wardlaw, one of the bailies.

36. Instrument of sasine given by David Kyde, one of the bailies of St Andrews, to the said Sir Andrew Ballone, as son and lawful heir of the late John Ballone, cognoscing and seasing him by the "hesp* and stapil"† in the first of these tenements lying in South Street, 10th March 1515.

37. Instrument of sasine of the second of the tenements in Marketgate to the said Sir Andrew Ballone, 10th March 1515.

38. Charter of sale by Sir Thomas Preston, vicar of St Andrews,

* Hank of yarn.

† A stopple or fastener.

with consent of John, prior of the metropolitan church of St Andrews and convent thereof, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, of the two tenements in St Andrews above described. To be held of the Archbishop of St Andrews in fee and heritage, paying the annual rents therefrom due and wont, and to the archbishop the burgh maill and service due and wont. At St Andrews, 27th May 1509 [1519]. Sirs John Prestone and Andrew Martyne, chaplains; Gilbert Steynson, James Kenloquhy, Andrew Waus, David Leidhope, George Alan (Alani), notary public; Henry Carmichael, and Henry Peblis, serjeants.

39. Instrument of sasine following thereon, 26th May 1519. Present—Sirs John Preston and Walter Mare, chaplains; John Symson, etc.

40. Obligation by Dean Thomas Preston, vicar of "the parych kirk of the cite of Sanctandris," renouncing his privilege of exception granted to John, prior of the metropolitan church of St Andrews, and canons thereof, and submitting in this case to the jurisdiction of the official principal of St Andrews, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawtresk, and his assignees, prebendars and chaplains doing divine service in the college kirk of Carail founded by him, to warrand, acquit, and defend the foresaid two tenements in St Andrews sold by him, under the penalty of 400 lib. Scots, to be paid in the parish kirk of Carail within twenty days, in case of molestation or troubling the purchaser or his assignees for the sum paid by Sir William for the alienation of the tenements, loss, skaith, etc. Dated at Sanct-androis, 9th June 1519. Witnesses—Sir Androw Martyne, John Terbat, etc.

41. Notarial instrument certifying the renunciation by the said Sir Thomas Preston of a letter of reversion and redemption of the two tenements on payment of 220 lib. Scots, given to him by Sir William Myrtone, the latter paying 200 merks for the renunciation, and receiving, *propriis manibus*, the letter of reversion to be destroyed; Sir Thomas also ratifying his former sale of the said tenements, and binding himself by oath to observe the agreement. Done in the chamber of a venerable and circumspect man, Sir Thomas Myrtone, archdean of Aberdeen, within the city of St Andrews, 6th July 1520.

Present—the said Sir Dean, Masters James Wischart of Peltaro, Peter Sandelandis, rector of Caldar; David Myrtone of Cambo, Sir John Preston, chaplain; and John Bell, layman; Thomas Wemys, Master of Arts, clerk of St Andrews diocese, notary.

42. Charter of vendition by Sir Henry Castaris, son and heir of umquhile William Castaris, Elizabeth Ramsay, relict of the foresaid William, and Beatrix Castaris, his daughter, to William Castaris of the city of St Andrews, and Jonet Smyth, his present spouse, and the longer liver of them two and his heirs, of their tenement in the South Street of the city of St Andrews, on the north side thereof, paying the annual rent due from the said tenement. Seal of the said Sir Henry, Beatrix, and the seal of David Wincester, bailie, giver of the sasine for the said Elizabeth, appended. St Andrews, July 1518.

43. Charter of alienation by William Castaris, citizen of St Andrews, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, founder of the college kirk of Carail, of his tenement, with garden, in the South Street of St Andrews, on the north side thereof, between the tenement belonging to the prebendaries of the college kirk of Carail on the east, the tenement of Robert Lawson on the west, the garden of John Jakson on the north, and the public king's highway on the south. Paying to the chaplain serving the altar of the Holy Trinity in the parish church of the Holy Trinity of the city of St Andrews, 26s. 8d. yearly; and to Sir Thomas Prestone, vicar of St Andrews, 13s.; the chaplain at the altar of St Stephen in the said church, 2s. 8d.; the chaplain of the altar of St Ninian's in the same church, 2s.; the monastery of St Andrews, 8s. in the year of yearly rent; and 4d. of burgh mail to the Archbishop of St Andrews. Dated at St Andrews, 23d July 1521. Witnesses—Masters Bernard Craufurd and Andrew Fowlar, notaries; Sir William Smyth, chaplain, etc.

44. Instrument on the resignation of the foresaid tenement by William Castaris, in the hands of David Guttere, one of the bailies of the city, with consent of Cristian Scott, his spouse; and by Beatrix Castaris, formerly fiar of the said tenement, with consent of Abnaider Ros, his spouse; and Cristian Scott, on being interrogated by the

bailie, in the absence of her husband, affirms that she gives her consent freely and voluntarily. Whereupon sasine is given to the said Sir William Myrton, 23d July 1521.

45. Charter of sale by Sir Thomas Preston, vicar of St Andrews, to Sir William Myrton, vicar of Lawthresk, and his prebendaries of the college of Carail, of an annual rent of 13s. Scots from the tene-ment of William Castaris, citiner of St Andrews, lying in the South Street of the said city, on the north side of the same, bounded as before said. Dated at St Andrews, penult of July 1522. Witnesses—Sir David Bowman, chaplain; David Hay, William Brown, John Terwat, and John Duncansone, serjeant.

46. Instrument of seizin of the same. Same date.

CARTA BEATISSIME MARIE IN NOVA INSULA.

47. Charter by Sir William Myrton, perpetual vicar of the parish church of Lawtresk, in the diocese of St Andrews, whereby on the recital that he was inflamed somewhile with devout zeal, and trusting by religious supplications not to let the merciful Redeemer wholly go, and also to assuage and terminate the pains of purgatory, he had, out of the goods acquired by his industry, conveyed certain lands and annual rents for increasing the worship of God, to certain chaplains to say mass perpetually in the church of St Mary the Virgin of Carail; and by authority of Andrew, Archbishop of St Andrews, primate of the whole realm of Scotland, *legatus natus* and *legatus à latere*, and perpetual commendator of the monastery of Dunfermline, had caused the said church of St Mary of Carail to be erected and created into a college kirk of a provost, ten prebendaries, and a clerk in the eleventh place; and that the vicarage of the said church, and pensionary vicarages, also created and erected perpetual, be united to the provostry of the said college, the consent of the lady prioress and convent of the monastery of Haddingtoun being obtained thereto at the founder's instance and request, and also with consent of the bailies and community of the burgh of Carail, and of other parishioners of the said parish, and of Master Alexander Dunbar, possessor of the said vicarage, as in the said erection by the said bishop is more fully contained. To the gift of which prebendaries, founded and to be founded by him, he had obtained the

confirmation of a most illustrious and serene prince and most dread lord, the late James the Fourth, King of Scots, upon the lands and annual rents given or to be given by him to the said prebendaries. And that the said erection of the college by the most reverend father, and the foundation and godly intent of the granter might take the surer effect, and divine worship be perpetuated in the said church, he had determined to bestow on every prebendary a certain new and perfect infeftment, according to the tenor of the said faculty and confirmation of the king. Therefore, for the praise, glory, and honour of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and St Mary His mother, and all the heavenly saints; and for the salvation of the souls of King James the Fourth; of the founder, Sir William Myrton, vicar of Lawthisk; Lady Jonet Hepburn, late prioress of Hadingtoun; the founder's father and mother, predecessors and successors, and others faithful in Christ, of whom he had received benefits, or to whom he had done wrong and not made amends; and for the weal and state of King James the Fifth, the reverend father's legate and archbishop, and the weal of his and their souls, he gives and confirms, and, so far as he could by virtue of the said royal confirmation, mortifies to God, St Mary, and all the saints; and to James Browne, prebendary of St Mary the Virgin's aisle in the said college kirk of Carail, called the second prebend or second prebendary in the said college, and his successors, the lands and annual rents under written, extending to £16, 10s. Scots, to wit, £6, 13s. 4d. yearly from the lands of Balmontht; 20s. from the lands of Lytill Bredlewys; 12s. from the tenement of Andrew Cas, lying in the Westgait; also a tenement in the Westgait with a garden and two butts of land, estimated to 24s.; an acre of land lying in Potergait; another acre called Colpot Croft, lying in the Estgait; another acre or thereby lying in Potergait, containing four buttis which formerly belonged to David Spens, laird of Wilmerstoun; another acre or thereby, also in the Potergait; another acre lying in the Nedergait; a house lying in the Marketgait, with half of a garden on the north thereof, estimated to 22s.; a house above the West Port, estimated to 28s.; another house built with garden and croft, estimated to 24s., all lying in the shire of Fyff. To be held by the said James, now prebendary of the said aisle of St Mary, and his successors, prebendaries of the said aisle, in fee and heritage mortified for ever, rendering devout suffrages for the souls aforesaid. The prebendary being bound to be sacristan of the

said college, and in that capacity to keep the books, capes, caps, vestments, and ornaments of the high altar and quire, and other "jocalia" which should be presented by any person for the honour and ornament of the said college, and to give compt thereof to the provost and chapter as oft as required. Further, the said James and his successors are to have charge of the song school, and instruct the scholars in plain song—*precantus et discantus*—and that all who attended the said Sir James in these exercises should be found fit and qualified, as should be found by the most approved of the chapter. Also to reside continually at the said college under penalty, and to lose the prebend if he got any benefice incompatible with it, which should be conferred on another by the patron and the chapter; who should be of sufficient literature, skilful in song and discant, and should serve with the other prebendaries in the choir at six in the morning in matins, at eight in the *missa dominicali* in the aisle of St Mary, and after that an AVE GLORIOSA at ten at high mass, and at four afternoon at vespers, unless in time of Lent, when vespers were sung immediately after high mass; at five o'clock, complines, etc. Also four times in the year an anniversary; and on the next morning a requiem mass for the soul of the founder and the souls of all the faithful dead, four candles being upon the table; and at their entry to make manual obedience to the founder while he lived, and on his death to the provost. The said prebendary to be of honest conversation, not to cohabit with prostitutes or other infamous persons, nor spend the night with married women; but if he kept a concubine, or commonly cohabited with such, and after the third warning of the ordinary did not desist, the prebend *eo ipso* should become vacant. The right of patronage after the founder's death to go to the bailies and community of the burgh of Carail, and his admission to the provost and chapter; in case a presentation were not made by the patrons within a month after vacation, for that time the presentation should lapse to the Archbishop of St Andrews. And if aught were omitted in this charter, which was contained in the principal erection of each prebendary, the prebendary was to perform such things. Dated at the burgh of Carail, 22d October 1520. Witnesses—John Abircrummy, John Gypsone, George Corstrophine, William Bowsy, George Bawne, John Rudman, Master Thomas Lummysdene, Sir George Lummysdene, Sir Symon Henrysone, Sir John Bowman, Sir

Thomas Bowman, Sir David Gawe, chaplains; and Sir Andrew Martyne, vicar-pensionar of Carail.

48. Charter by Sir William Myrtone, perpetual vicar of the parish church of Lawthresk, whereby, on the same recital, he gives, and, so far as he may in virtue of the foresaid royal confirmation, mortifies to St Mary the Virgin and all the saints, and to Sir Thomas Bowman, prebendary to St Mary the Virgin's aisle, in the collegiate church of Carail, called the third prebend of the college, and his successors doing divine service in the said aisle for evermore, annual rents and lands extending to £14, 6s. 8d. Scots; to wit: an annual rent of ten merks, from the lands of Ardros and whole barony thereof; three acres of land called Lytill Paitfeyld, containing eleven "ryggis," bounded as described; another acre containing four rigs in the Potergait, also bounded as described; an annual rent of 6s. from the lands of Thomas Zwyll; an annual rent of 6s. from the lands of James Crummy, lying above the West Port; 7s. from the lands of Richard Otter yearly; an annual rent from the lands of James Kay, lying in Mercatgait, 15s.; from a but lying in the Neddergait, 12d.; from the tenement of Robert Wyly, lying in the Neddergait, with garden croft and kiln thereof, 12s.; and many other annual rents, all described, including 6s. from the lands of John Wylkrow, lying above the West Croice, all lying within the sheriffdom of Fyffe, to be held by the said Thomas, now prebendary of St Mary's isle, in the said college church, and his successors in fee and heritage, mortified for ever, paying devout supplications for the souls mentioned (as in foregoing charter), with conditions similar to those above specified. The patronage to rest with the founder while he lived, and then with the laird of Cambo and his heirs, provided they were twenty-five years of age; if under age, to the bailies and community of the burgh of Carail. Dated at the burgh of Carail, 22d October 1520. Witnesses as in the preceding charter.

CARTA SANCTI MICHAELIS.

49. Charter by Sir William Myrtone, perpetual vicar of the parish church of Lawthresk, whereby, on the like recital, he gives, grants, and mortifies, for the salvation of the same souls, etc., to St Mary the Virgin and all the saints, and Sir George Abircrummy, prebendary of the altar of St Michael the Archangel, in the college

kirk of Carail, and his successors for ever, saying mass at the said altar; lands and annual rents, extending in all to £13, 6s. 8d., viz.: an annual rent of £10 from the lands of Newhall, in the constabulary of Carail; from the tenement of Alexander Storour, lying in the Neddergait of Carail, 12s. yearly; from the land of John Davidsoun, in the same street, 9s.; from the land of the late William Calfhyrd, lying in the Nethergait, iiis., lying in the sheriffdom of Fyff; and this prebend being called the fourth prebend. The conditions are in the same terms as above. The right of patronage to remain with the founder during his life, and after his death with the laird of Randelstoun, and his heirs, not under twenty-five years of age; otherwise the gift for the time to belong to the bailies and community of the burgh of Carail, the admission to the provost and chapter. Dated at the burgh of Carail, 22d October 1520.

50. Charter by the same, in similar terms, to Sir William Abircrummy, prebendary of the altar of St Michael the Archangel, in the college kirk of Carail, called the fifth prebend of the said college, and his successors, of an annual rent, extending to 13 lib. 6s. 8d. yearly, furth of the lands of Gordon's Hall, Pytmërcht, and Balhowsy, with the pertinents lying within the shire of Fyff, with the usual conditions; and the said Sir William, prebendary, to enjoy the office of the subdeanship, as use is in college kirks, and his successors, in chanting the epistles on all solemn and festival days, every one in his turn, and habited as becomes. Dated at the burgh of Carail, 22d October 1520.

CARTA SANCTI JACOBI APOSTOLI.

51. Charter by the same, in similar terms, to Sir David Bowman, prebendary of the altar of St James the Apostle, in the college kirk of Carail, called the sixth prebend or sixth prebendary of the college, and to his successors, prebendaries, celebrating divine worship at the said altar, for ever, the lands and annual rents underwritten extending to £13, 16s. 8d. money of Scotland; to wit, from the land of Sepseis, an annual rent of £4, and one house, builded in the Mercatgait, with half of the garden, estimated to 36s. Item, four acres of land in the Pottergait, called John King's lands, on the north side of the same street, between the lands belonging to the service in the new aisle on the west side, the lands

called Lityll Bredlewis on the north, etc., paying from them yearly to the service of St Katerine, 20s. Item, from the lands of Sir Robert Dawson, above the West Port, between the lands of the lady prioress of Haddingtoun on the east, and the lands of Richard Otter on the west, 12s. yearly. Item, from the lands of John Hoge in the Neddergait, 4s., etc., etc. Item, the sacristan of the said college kirk for the time shall yearly answer and pay to the said Sir David and his successors, 40s., by diverse portions, for which the said sacristan shall be yearly exonerated by the chapter. With the usual conditions, the right of patronage to the prebend to remain with the founder during his life, and after his death to the bailies and community of Carail, the admission to the provost and chapter. Dated at Carail, 22d October 1520.

CARTA SANCTI NICHOLAI.

52. Charter by the same, in similar terms, to Sir Edward Annell, prebendary of the altar of St Nicholas, in the college kirk of Carail, called the seventh prebend or seventh prebendary, and his successors, prebendaries, doing divine worship at the said altar, for ever, lands and annual rents extending to £15, 2s. 8d. Scots yearly, to wit: from the lands of Cambo and Belseis, £8 yearly; three acres of land in the Pottergait, called Dammy's Acres; and another acre of the land of the late John King, in the same street, estimated to 48s.; a builded chamber in Mercatgait, 20s.; an annual rent from the land of the late William Dawe, in the Neddergait, viis. yearly, etc., etc.; an annual rent of 9s. from the tenement of John Rudman, in Rood Street (*vico crucis*), as is more fully contained in the founder's charter, made to the said Sir Edward Annell and his successors; the bailies and community of Carail to have the presentation after the founder's decease. Dated at the burgh of Carail, 22d October 1520.

CARTA SANCTI JOHANNIS BAPTISTE.

53. Charter by the same, whereby he mortifies to John Bowman, prebendary of the altar of St John the Baptist, in the college kirk of Carail, called the eighth prebend or eighth prebendary of the college, and his successors, prebendaries, etc., an annual rent extending to £13, 6s. 8d. yearly, out of the founder's two tenements in the city of St Andrews, one in the South Street, and the other in Marketgait; after his decease the presentation to belong to the bailies and com-

munity of the burgh of Carail. Dated at the burgh of Carail, 22d October 1520.

CARTA SANCTI JOHANNIS EUANGELISTE.

54. Charter by the same, to Mr John Leiche, prebendary of the altar of St John the Apostle and Evangelist in the college kirk of Carail, called the ninth prebend or ninth prebendary, and his successors, of an annual rent extending to £12 Scots, to be taken yearly furth of the two Collemachiis, viz., Holtoun and Myddyltoun, and the lands thereof, belonging to the lord of Ardross, in the shire of Kynros; an annual rent of 21s. 6d. of the land of John Dyk, in the burgh of Carail, in the West Street; also, from the land of the late William Cas, in the same street, 5s. 4d. yearly; after the founder's death the presentation to belong to the bailies and community of the burgh. Dated at Carail, 6th August 1518. Witnesses—John Abircrummy, John Gypson, John Rychartson, George Bawne, etc. Master Thomas Lummysdene, Sirs George Lummysdene, Symon Henrisoune, David Bowman, John Bowman, Thomas Bowman, James Browne, chaplains; and Sir Andrew Martyne, vicar-pensionary of the college kirk of Carail.

CARTA GENERALIS.

55. Charter by the said Sir William Myrtoun, and for reasons similar to those above recited, to the prebendaries and chaplains founded by him and their successors, and also to the chaplain of the Holy Cross *in solio*, and to the chaplains of St Mary in the choir, certain tenements in the city of St Andrews, viz., one in the South Street, another in the Marketgait, another in the South Street, formerly belonging to William Castaris. Item, five acres of arable land in the town of Pinketoun. Item, £5 Scots from the lands of Pittowe, in warrandice of the said five acres. Item, six acres of land in the burgh of Carail in the Pottergait; an acre with the "mair" of arable land in the Pottergait; four other tenements in the burgh of Carail in the Marketgait; four other tenements in the same street; four merks yearly, from the lands of Pitmule, as more fully contained in the charter thereof made by the lord to the founder; an annual rent of 15s. from the lands of George Bawne, in Marketgait; an annual rent of 6s. from the lands of David Gylruth, in South Street, etc.; from the common tolbooth, lying in Marketgait, on the

north side thereof, between the lands of John Abircrummy on the west, and the common market on the east, 6s.; of which annual rents, the whole sum now reckoned up by the founder amounts to £80 yearly, paying therefrom to Sir John Bowman, his chaplain, prebendary of St John the Baptist's altar, and his successors, 20 merks yearly; 12 merks yearly for a mass to be daily and for ever said by the foresaid chaplains and prebendaries for the soul of a famous man, Sir Thomas Myrtone, Archdean of Aberdeen, provost of the said college; the mass to be said by one or other of the prebendaries at St Katherine the Virgin's altar, in the said college daily, at the sixth hour, immediately *post tercium pulsum* to matins, each prebendary to celebrate weekly by turns; and, if any refused, he should have no part nor intromission with the 12 merks, for which mass the said Sir Thomas Myrtone, provost, had paid to Sir William Myrtone, his vicar, near kinsman and much trusted, the sum of £200, paying also to Sir David Bowman, his chaplain, prebendary of St James' altar, and his successors, 40s. yearly. Paying also yearly for four obsequies and masses of requiem, four times in the year, *cum nota*, for the founder's soul, in the said college kirk of Carail, 40s.; also, for four other obsequies and masses of requiem, four times in the parish kirk of St Andrews, for the founder's soul *cum nota*, 40s.; also, for the founder's soul, paying to the poor of Carail eight merks yearly, four on the four days on which his obits, obsequies, and masses of requiem in Carail are celebrated, two merks on each occasion gratis, and without delay; for four obsequies, to be celebrated in the said college four times a year for the soul of Lady Joan Hepburn, formerly prioress of Hadingtoun, 40s.; for four obsequies and masses of requiem *cum nota*, to be celebrated in the said college for the soul of Lady Margaret Kar, umwhile Countess of Errell, 40s.; for one obsequy and mass of requiem *cum nota*, on the day of St Scolastic the Virgin, for the soul of Andrew Abircrummy, late burgess of Dundee, 10s.; of all which masses, obsequies, he confers the benefit to his prebendaries, chaplains, and to the chaplains of the Holy Cross, and of St Mary the Virgin in the choir, paying yearly for bread and wine to them daily, provided they be disposed to celebrate divine worship, 40s., which the collectors must not give in money, but bread and wine only. To the chaplain of the altar of St Mary the Virgin in the choir and his successors, two merks yearly for daily service in the choir, and outwith the same to be celebrated on week

days (*feriatis diebus*) and festive days, with the other chaplains the prebendaries ; but if the two chaplains, or either of them, refuse the divine service, and to bear and carry so blessed a yoke from day to day, they should touch nought of the two merks, nor share in any gain or commodity of the other foresaid suffrages, but be wholly suspended, and not held nor reckoned in the number of the others. Paying also to a reverend lord, and of great knowledge, the lord official of St Andrews for the time, visiting twice a year the founder's college of Carail, to take heed for his chaplains and prebendaries, living happily, holily, and in concord, and assisting them in their just and lawful causes, and, when need should be, reproving and correcting them for vices, 40s., when he should come to the college for these purposes only. The rest of the annual rents to be inbrought yearly by the collectors to the chapter, and well kept in custody by them, and, when need should be, expended usefully and seasonably with the council and advice of his other prebendaries, chapterly assembled for that end, upon the houses and structures, upon his aisle of the blessed Virgin Mary of Carail, and on his buildings in Carail and St Andrews, lest they should become ruinous through rarity of visitation and repair. The residue to be honestly spent in introducing books, cups, vestments, and other ornaments of the choir of the said collegiate church, by unanimous consent of his chaplains the prebendaries, and after courteous conference regarding them, and asking the help, counsel, and assistance of the lord official of St Andrews, bailies and community of the burgh of Carail, and most famous of the parishioners of the said church. Dated at the burgh of Carail, 20th April 1526. Witnesses—David Spens and John Abircrummy, bailies of the burgh for the time; William Bowsy, Henry Cowper, Andrew Sewe, George Bawne, Edward Bawne, John Cragee, William Dawesone, John Cornuell, David Browne, John Cas, James Parke, George Corstrophyne, David Hay, Robert Bowsy, Laurence Gregour, Peter Gardnar, Thomas Corstrophyne, David Lummysdene, John Gypsone, William Skirleyn. For the faithful preserving of which charter in time to come, the founder has obtained the subscription manual of all his prebendaries, chaplains for the time, for them and their successors, as ratifying and approving with those of the chaplains of the Holy Rood *in solio*, and the altar of the glorious Virgin Mary in the choir. *Sic subscribitur* by Andrew Martyne, vicar-pensionary, with my hand; Schir John Bowman, prebendary, with my hand; Schir David

Bowman, with my hand; William Turnour, prebendary, with my hand; David Gawe, with my hand; Schir Thomas Bowman, with my hand; Schir Edward Annand, with my hand; and I, William Bosvell, to the same; and I, William Abyrcrummy, to the same, consent.

INSTRUMENTS ON THE FOREGOING CHARTERS.

56. Instrument of seizin in favour of Sir George Abercrummy, prebendary of the college of Caraill, and his successors, prebendaries, of the annual rent of 10 lib. out of the lands of Newhall. Seizin is given by Sir William Myrtone, *propriis manibus*, by delivery of a penny; and also of others, as described in the charter. 10th November 1520. Present—James Fowlar, Alexander Clerk, Edward Anell, James Corstorphyne, Robert Dawsons, Thomas Clerk, James Myrtone, Sir James Browne, Thomas Bowman, and William Abircrummy, chaplains.

57. Notarial instrument certifying that on the 19th September 1513, in presence of the notary and witnesses, personally compeared a venerable man, Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, on the one part, and John Abercrummy and George Kenloquhy, bailies for the time, commonly elected with the councillors and burgesses of Caraill, on the other part, within the tolbooth of the said burgh, and there the said Sir William earnestly asked of them whether they wished to unite the office of clerkship of the said burgh to his college founded by him. To which the bailies consented in terms of the following contract: "At Caraill, the nyntene day of the moneth of September, in the zeir of God ane thousand fyfe hundreth and threttene zeris. The quhilt day comperyt in iugement Schir Williame Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, before the bailzeis and nichtbouris of the towne, with wder syndre parochianaris beand present for that caus. The parroch clerkschip beand vacand be the deceiss of Thomas Wemys, that tyme na parroche clerk beand chosyne, the said Schir Williame Myrtone proponit to the bailzeis, that tyme Johne Abircrummy and George Kenloquhy, befor the saidis nychtbouris and parochianaris, and desyrit thai wald annex thar parroche clerkschip to his college and seruice done in the said parroche kirk, and quha sa euir thai chesit to be oblist and bund to siclik seruice as the chaplanis fundat be the said Schir Williame war bund, to wit,

ryngin of bellis to matynis, lady mess, hie mess, evyne sang, as consuetude is in college. The bailzeis, nychtbouris, and parrochianaris beand weill and riply avisat, thay wnderstandand this proponyng beand profitabill and meritabill to God for the service of haly kirk, grantit hartly tharto, all with ane consent, and grantit thar common seill to be giffyne thar apone. Efter this the forsaid day Johne of Wemys, sone and air to Thomas Wemys, come befor the bailzeis Johne Abircrummy and George Kenloquhy, nychtbouris, and parrochianaris, and desirit the parroche clerkschip, and to mak gud service tharfor at plesour, with certan freyndis with hyme. And for speciall luf thai hed to his fader, the said bailzeis and communitie grantit with ane consent hyme to haif and bruk the said clerkschip for all the dayis of his lyf, he makand siclik service daylie and hourly as the chapellanis fundat be the said Schir Williame dois in the said parroche kyrk, quhill we haif annexet perpetualye to his college to be fundat be hyme. And falzeand* of the said parroch clerk as said is, the bailzeis and communitie forsaid sall fet[†] ane sufficient seruand on his expens efter the tenour of our comon seill, grantit to the said Schir Williame tharapone. Als the said day the said Schir Williame Myrtone maid the communitie of the burgh of Carail with lardis of the parrochine patronis to fyf infestmentis, efter the tyme of his deceiss, to be giffyne to chapellanis that hes vnderstandyng to syng plane sang, priket[‡] sang, and to do service efter the tenour of his foundatioun. And the said Schir William is oblist to gif vidimus tharapone." The parties stipulate before the notary not to contravene this agreement. Dated 19th September 1513. Present—John Abercrummy, George Kenloquhy, bailies; John Lummsdene of Ardre, David Myrtone of Cambo, John Cas, John Richartsone, John Dawsons, William Clerk, William Bowse, Thomas Corstorphyne, James Parky, serjeant.

58. Instrument of seizin of Sir Edward Anell, prebendary of the college of Carail, and his successors, of an annual rent of 10 lib. from the lands of Cambo and Belchis, and from burgal tenements in the burgh of Carail, 3 lib. 6s. 8d., as contained in Sir William Myrtone's charter to him. Dated 10th November 1520.

59. Instrument of seizin in favour of Sirs John Bowman and Wil-

* Failing.

† Engage.

‡ Chosen, ornamental.

liam Abircrummy, chaplains and prebendaries of the college kirk of Carail, and their successors, of the tenement in the South Street of St Andrews, according to Sir William Myrtone's foundation. Dated 23d July 1521. Present—Masters Bernard Crawford, Andrew Fowlar, notaries public; Sir William Smyth, chaplain; George Gerves, sub-dean; and others.

60. Instrument of seizin of Sir James Browne, chaplain prebendary, sacristan of the college kirk of Carail, and his successors, prebendaries, sacristans, of an annual rent of 6 lib. 13s. 4d. furth of the lands of Balmonth, etc., to him and his successors doing service at the altar of St Mary in the new aisle, according to the charter by Sir William Myrtone. Dated 7th November 1520.

61. Instrument of seizin of Sir Thomas Bowman, chaplain prebendary of the college kirk of Carail, and his successors, prebendaries, of an annual rent of 10 merks furth of the lands of Ardros, and four acres, called Ryngane Croft, in Carail, according to Sir William's charter. Dated 8th November 1520.

62. Instrument of seisin of James Leich, prebendary, in an annual rent of 18 merks Scots furth of the two Collemachiis, to wit, Middiltoun and Holtoun, in the shire of Kinross, to him and his assignees, prebendaries, chaplains serving in the college kirk of Carail, according to Sir William Myrtone's charter to him of the same. Dated 29th July 1518. Present—William Dischyntoun, son and apparent heir to George Dischyntoun; William Rychartsoun, John Bell, John Gourlay.

63. Instrument of seisin of William Abircrummy, chaplain prebendary, assignee of Sir William Myrtone, and his successors, prebendaries in the college kirk of Carail, of an annual rent of 20 merks furth of Balhoussy, Gordonishall, and Pitmerth. Dated 15th April 1520. Present—George Abircrummy, Edward Anell, Sir James Brown, and Sir David Bowman, chaplains.

64. Instrument of seizin of Sir David Bowman, chaplain prebendary, and his successors, doing service at the altar of St James, in the college kirk of Carail, of four acres of arable land, called John King's

Land, in the Pottergait of Caraill, and others, according to Sir William Myrton's charter. Dated 5th November 1520.

65. Instrument of seizin of Sir David Bowman, chaplain and procurator of the college kirk of Caraill, of tenements in South Street, St Andrews, for repairing, upholding, and improving the buildings, houses, ornaments, vestments, books, and others necessary to the college, reserving an annual rent of 20 merks to Sir John Bowman, chaplain prebendary, and his successors. Dated 29th April 1522. Present—Sirs John Barre and Bernard Zoung, chaplains; Andrew Oliphant, notary; James Burn, and John Steuart, serjeant.

66. Instrument of seizin of Sirs David Bowman and William Abircrummy, Sir William Myrton's prebendaries, for themselves and the other prebendaries, and their successors, of five acres of arable land in Pinkartoun, and others, according to the founder's charter. Dated 21st November 1525. Present—David Spens, younger, laird of Wilmerstoun; Thomas Lyell, James Parky, David Hay, Sirs William Boswall, Thomas Bowman, and Andrew Martyne, chaplains.

67. Charter by Alexander Wemys of Lathokyr to John Wemys, and Mariory, his spouse, and the heirs of their body and assignees whomsoever, for counsel, help, and benefits done to the granter, of his lands called Lytilpat Feyld, containing eleven rigs, lying between the lands of Payt Feyld, pertaining to the monastery of Haddyngton, on the south, the land of Sypseis on the north, and the common lone of the burgh of Caraill on the east, in fee and heritage, paying to the bailies and community of Caraill 4d. for king's maill at Whitsunday, and to the perpetual chaplain of the Holy Rood in the parish church of Caraill, 2s. of annual rent. Dated at the burgh of Caraill, 22d June 1499.

68. Charter by John Wemys, burgess of the burgh of Caraill, and Mariory, his spouse, to their friend Sir William Myrton, chaplain, and his assignees, for his counsel, help, benefits, and for payment of 500 lib., of the lands called Litillpat Feild, containing eleven rigs, paying as in preceding charter, and giving their oaths to the observing of this sale, under obligation of 80 lib., to be paid as a debt to the pur-

chaser, before their entering any plea or question before any judge in contravention thereof. Dated at Carail, 9th September 1502. Edward Spens, one of the bailies, lends his seal to Marjory, because she had none. Witnesses—John Robertson, William Zoung, James Bwyl, Alexander Myrtone, and Sir William Martyne, chaplain.

69. Certification by Edward Spens, one of the bailies of the burgh of Carail, that on the 9th of September 1502 he passed to eleven rigs of land called Lytill Patfeild, lying in the north half of the burgh, and that there, on the ground of the same, Marion Steuart, spouse to John of Wemys, burgess of Carail, made resignation of the said eleven rigs in his hands, as she that was in conjunct infeftment thereof, and swore upon the holy evangels that she was not forced thereto by her husband, he being absent in the meantime; and thereafter John of Wemys made the like resignation in the hands of the bailie, who thereupon gave state and heritable seizin thereof to Sir William Myrtone, chaplain, and his assignees, according to the charter made thereupon. Witnesses—David Myrtone of Cambo, Schir George Lummisden, Schir Wilzem Dischingtoun, chaplains, etc.

70. Charter by David Spens of Wilmerstoun, selling to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, an annual rent of 24s. 4d. Scots, out of five tenements of land within the burgh of Carail, for a sum of money paid by Sir William, to be held by him and his assignees, prebendaries, chaplains, serving in the college kirk of Carail, for payment of one penny Scots in name of blench ferm if asked only. Dated at Cupar, 7th July 1518. Witnesses—Sirs John Murray, David Bowman, James Lytstar, chaplains; John Lawta, Thomas Bruys, William Wilzemsoun.

71. Instrument of seizin of Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, in the foresaid annual rent, contains precept of seizin by David Spens of Wilmerstoun, dated at Cupar, 6th July 1518, directing his procurators and errand-bearers in that part to resign the said annual rent in the hands of one of the bailies of the burgh, and in the hands of the bailie of the prioress and convent of the monastery of nuns of Northberwick; John Husband, the latter bailie, gives the seizin. Done at the burgh of Carail, 10th July 1518. Witnesses—John Abircrummy, George Clapane, etc.

72. Charter of sale by John Abircrummy, burgess of the burgh of Caraill, with consent of David Spens of Wilmerstoun, overlord of Lytill Bredlewis, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, of an annual rent of 20s. Scots furth of eight acres of his lands of Lytill Bredlewys, in the constabulary of Caraill and shire of Fyff, between the lands belonging to St Michael's service on the south, and the common burn descending to the borough mills of Caraill on the west, the lands of the laird of Wilmerstoun, called Mekill Bredlewis, on the north, and the lands pertaining to the service of St Catherine on the east, for 16 lib. Scots, paid by Sir William to him, to be held by him and his assignees, chaplain or chaplains, of the granter in fee and heritage, for payment of one penny Scots at Whitsunday yearly, it asked only. Dated 25th August 1516. Witnesses—Alexander Clerk, Edward Annell, Sirs George Lumsden, John Murray, David Bowman, chaplains; William Richartson, and Lawrence Greg.

73. Instrument of seizin following on the above. Dated 26th August 1516.

74. Charter of sale by George Dischingtoun, lord of fee of the lands of Ardros, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, of an annual rent of eighteen merks Scots from his lands of the two Collemachiis, viz., Myddiltoun and Holtoun, in the shire of Kynros, and lordship of the same, for 240 lib. Scots paid by him. To be held by him and his assignees, chaplains in the college kirk of Caraill, for payment of one penny Scots at Whitsunday yearly, if asked only. Dated at St Andrews, 26th July 1518. Witnesses—William Dischingtoun, son and apparent heir of the said George; William Richartson, John Bell, John Gourlay, Mr James Leich, Sir Andrew Martyne.

75. Obligation by George Dischyntoun, fear* of the lands of Ardros, to Sir William Myrtone and his assigns, to warrant the above annual rent of eighteen merks, under a penalty of 400 lib. Scots, to be paid in the college kirk of Caraill, within twenty days after any molestation or impediment, for the sum paid to him by Sir William Myrtone, and for skaith, damage, etc.; the charter nevertheless to remain in strength, submitting to the jurisdiction ordinary of the

* Younger.

official principal of St Andrews; two shillings to be paid for every day during which annual rent remained unpaid after the ordinary term. Dated at Carmwre, 29th July 1518. Witnesses as above.

76. Instrument of seizin of the foresaid annual rent of eighteen merks. 29th July 1518.

77. Charter of sale by George Dischintoun, fear of the lands of Ardros, and whole barony thereof, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, of an annual rent of ten merks Scots furth of the lands of Ardross, and whole barony thereof, in the constabulary of Carail and shire of Fyf, for 146 lib. 13s. 4d. Scots, to be held by him and his assignees, prebendaries, chaplains serving in the college kirk of Carail, in fee and heritage for evermore. Reddendo one penny Scots at Whitsunday, at the head messuage of the lands of Ardros, in name of blench ferm, if asked only. Dated at Carmwre, 3d November 1518. Witnesses—Alexander Dischyntone, Thomas Abircrummy, Andrew Hepburne, George Sandelandis, John Bell, and Sir Andrew Martyne, notary public.

78. Obligation by George Dischynton, fear of the lands of Ardros, to warrant the above ten merks, under a penalty of 400 merks Scots. Dated at Carmwre, 3d November 1518.

79. Instrument of seizin thereon. Same date.

80. Notarial instrument certifying that, in presence of Master John Weddell, licentiate in both laws, canon of Moray and principal official of St Andrews, the notary, and witnesses, an honourable lady, Jonet Lundy, spouse of George Dischyntoun, lord fear of Ardros, renounced her conjunct infestment of the lands of Collemachiis, Holtoun and Myddiltoun, on account of the charter and other letters made by her husband, on the alienation of an annual rent of eighteen merks to Sir William Myrtone, and his assignees, prebendaries, etc., which she approved and ratified, swearing on the holy evangels never to come in the contrary of the premisses, and that her present renunciation was made not by fear or compulsion of her spouse. Dated 26th July 1518. Witnesses—Masters John Spens, Martin Balfour, Thomas Wemyss, Alexander Scott, Alex-

ander Martyne, and John Wilkynstoun, clerks of St Andrews diocese.

81. Extract from the book of the register of the official of St Andrews, bearing that, on Monday, 26th July 1518, Jonet Lundy, lady of Ardros, younger, outwith the presence of her husband, George Dischintoun, lord fear of Ardros, renounced her conjunct fee of the lands of Collemachiis, viz., Holtoun and Middiltoun, and approved the charter made by her husband as to the alienation of eighteen merks, and warned to this under the pain of cursing. Further, the said George Dischintoun approved the charter seal and other evidents made thereupon; and further, was warned to satisfy the said sum of eighteen merks yearly and termly in the town of Carail, to Sir William Myrtone, as in his obligation warned to keep under pain of cursing, binding himself to keep the whole under pain of the apostolic chamber, with all needful raising of letters. Dated at St Andrews as above. Present—Martin Balfour, vicar of Quhilt; John Spens, John Wilkynstoun, Alexander Martyne, George Strang, William Strang, procurators of court.

82. 19th November 1518.—George Dischyntoun, fear lord of Ardross, and William Dischyntoun, his son and apparent heir, are warned, on their own confessions, to pay to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, and his assignees, prebendaries, chaplains doing divine service in the college kirk of Carail, the annual rent of ten merks out of the lands and barony of Ardros, under pain of cursing, ay, and till the said annual rent were redeemed, according to the tenor of the reversion thereof, and to pay two shillings every day after the term, if it were not paid. The parties so warned swear on the gospels to observe this act of the official's court, under pain of cursing. Before Thomas Abircrummy, Master Robert Lausoun, and Sir Andrew Martyne, vicar of Carail. [This document is docquetted as an extract from the book of contracts of the official principal of St Andrews.]

83. 6th October 1511.—David Myrtone of Cambo is warned to pay to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, ten merks Scots, according to charter, under pain of cursing. At St Andrews. Witnesses—Robert Cunynghame of West Barnys, Alexander

Myrtone, younger of Cambo; Robert Calfhyrd, etc. [Extract as above.]

84. 28th June 1527.—William Lummysdene of Ardre is warned to observe the act in the books of the official's court of St Andrews, dated 20th April, year "17," and obligation made thereanent by John Lummysden, his father, to Sir William Myrtone, and the chaplains, for six merks yearly, according to the tenor of the said act, under pain of cursing. [Extract as above.]

85. Notarial instrument certifying that, on the 12th October 1512, in presence of Master Hugh Spens, professor of sacred theology, doctor of canon laws (*decretorum*), provost of the college kirk of St Salvator, and official principal of St Andrews, the notary, and witnesses, John Borthwyk, lord of the franktenement of the lands of Balhoussie, Gordonis Hall, and Pitmerth, and Alexander Borthwyk, his grandson, lord of fee thereof, compearing in judgment; the said John renounced his franktenement thereof, to the effect that Sir William Myrtone and his assignees might have continually and termly payment of an annual rent of twenty merks, according to the tenor of a charter of the said Alexander Borthwyk, who, having been sworn, and having with his father recognised and approved the various charters and seizins made thereon, are warned by the official principal to pay the said sum to Sir William Myrtone and his assignees, chaplains, or chaplain, founded by him, and particularly Sir Patrick Mawchlyne, and his successors, at the pleasure of the said Sir William, under pain of cursing; and at the said Sir William's good pleasure, to assign substantial tenants as securities for payment thereof, to be bound also under pain of cursing. Done in the church of the Friars Predicant, in the city of St Andrews, 12th October 1512. Witnesses—Laurence, abbot of the monastery of Inchaffray, in the diocese of Dunblane; Robert, abbot of Balmurinocht; Masters Robert Daudsoun, James Wischart, Martin Balfour, John Spens, John Strathauchin, Henry Rouche, John Lawder, and Robert Lesly; John Bonar, notary.

86. 22d March 1518.—Master Thomas Meldrum, lord of Segye and of Newhall, is warned, and binds himself, his heirs and assignees, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, and his assignees, chap-

lains, in 10 lib. Scots of annual rent furth of his lands of Newhall, alienated by him to the said Sir William and his assignees, under pain of cursing, until the redemption of the said annual rent, according to the reversion granted by Sir William Myrtone to him. Witnesses—David Meldrum, William Leychtoun, John Gibsoun, Master John Spens, younger; Sirs Walter Mar and Alexander Reok. [Extract.]

87. 28th August 1516.—John Abercrummy, bailie of Carail, and laird of Bredlewis, is warned, and binds himself, his heirs, executors, and assignees, to pay to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, and his assignees, chaplains doing service in the parish kirk of Carall, 20s. Scots, under pain of cursing. Before Master Robert Lausoun, Sir Walter Mar, Andrew Foular, and David Paltoun, servitor to the laird of Auldy. [Extract.]

88. Notarial instrument certifying that, in presence of the notary and witnesses, personally compeared Master Thomas Meldrum of Newhall, David Myrtone of Cambo, John Lummisden of Ardre, Alexander Myrtone of Randerstoun; Master Thomas Cunyngham, tutor of West Barnys; John Abircrummy, John Gibsone, William Bowse, bailies of the burgh of Carail; John Cas, John Rudman, George Clapen, Robert Borthuyk, William Cornuell, John Cornwell, John Lawsone, David Dawsons, William Davidsone, James Moress, Robert Gray, Alexander Hoburne, William Symsons, Alexander Clerk, John Dawsons, David Lumisdene, and others named, assembled in the tolbooth of the burgh, with unanimous consent, and with consent of the whole community of the burgh, consented and cordially decreed that Sir William Turnour was a fit, sufficient, learned, and worthy chaplain to enjoy the gift of the chaplainry of the Holy Rood *in solio*, and that since the foresaid bailies, councillors, neighbours, and commons of the said burgh, in virtue of an obligation under their common seal, are bound to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, founder of the college of the said burgh, that the foresaid chaplainry shall never, by them or their successors, be conferred and bestowed but on a chaplain sufficiently imbued with languages (*grammaticalibus*) and learned in Gregorian chant, pre-cant, descendant, and playing on the organ, they sent and presented him to the said Sir William and his prebendaries, to be examined of his sufficiency, who, being chapterly assembled, admitted him to be suffi-

ciently learned and qualified: In which chapter the said Sir William Turnour bound himself by oath to obedience, according to the force and effect of Sir William Myrton's charter and erection. Meanwhile the foresaid bailies, etc., being undoubted patrons of the said chaplainry, in their hands by the demission of Sir Alexander Swentoun, last chaplain thereof, presented the said Sir William Turnour thereto for his lifetime, by delivery of a book and cup, as the custom is, observing the restrictions following, to wit: that he should daily, when disposed, pray for the souls of the founders of said chaplainry; sing, or cause to be sung, a mass of requiem at the said altar *cum nota*, every second week-day for the said founders; play on the organ, according to usage, in the college kirk, in his habit, in the quire, at daily matins, the Lord's mass, *Ave gloriosa*, high mass, and vespers, and that the said chaplainry is annexed to the said college under their common seal, etc., and the said Sir William Turnour to be the common clerk of the burgh, etc., but to be removable by the bailies, etc., if remiss; taking him bound not to molest his patrons in word or deed from the day of his admission. To the observing of all which Sir William Myrtone craved the common seal of the burgh to be appended to the instrument. Dated 6th May 1522. Witnesses—Sir Andrew Martyne, vicar pensionary of the said church; David Broun, Sirs James Brown, David Bowman, Thomas Bowman, William Abircrummy, and Edward Annell.

89. Notarial instrument certifying that on the 9th April 1526, in a chapter court held in the tolbooth of the burgh of Carail, by David Spens and John Abircrummy, bailies of the said burgh, there being present George Corstorphyne, William Bowse, David Hay, John Dawesone, John Cornwell, Henry Cowper, George Bawne, William Clerk, John Lumisden, lord of Ardre, and the rest of the more considerable persons of the burgh, in presence of whom and of the notary, Sir William Myrtone, perpetual vicar of Lawthresk, appeared and made public intimation, that by the gift of the predecessors of the said burgh and community thereof, for a long space heretofore the common seal of the said burgh had been given to him without any gainsaying, to the effect that the successors of Sir David Gawe, as chaplains of the high altar in the quire of the college kirk for the time, after the said David's decease, should bear the yoke and share the daily burden of all divine services celebrated in

the said college kirk, as well on ferial as festive days in matins, Lord's mass, high mass, vespers, etc., as well in the quire as outwith the same, along with the said Sir William's prebendaries. In whose presence also presently compeared quickly Sir David Gawe, chaplain, and begged and craved of the said bailies, etc., for licence to take upon him such a holy and blessed yoke with the other prebendaries and chaplains at the throne of the Holy Cross in all divine services. Whereupon the bailies, etc., holding a secret consultation, unanimously concluded his desire to be reasonable, and unanimously granted his godly petition, who then bound himself by oath, Sir William craving the common seal and notary's instrument thereon. Present—Andrew Sew, William Bowse, Laurence Gregour, John Cragie, William Skirlyng, David Browne, Peter Gardener, etc.; John Bowman, notary.

90. Charter of sale by David Monipenny, laird of Pitmuly, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthrysk, and founder of the glorious (*almt'*) college of Carale, and his prebendaries, chaplains doing service in the college kirk of Carale, of an annual rent of six merks Scots, furth of his lands of Pitmuly, in the constabulary of Craile and shire of Fyff, for 80 lib. Scots paid to him. Reddendo one penny if asked only. Dated at Carale, 27th July 1528. Witnesses—Sir John Bowman, Sir Andrew Martyne, Laurence Gryg, John Abercrumme, Robert Borthuyk, Robert Bowse.

91. Instrument of seizin of Sir William Myrtone in the foresaid annual rent of six merks furth of the lands of Petmuly, 27th July 1528. Witnesses—Sir John Bowman, Sir David Bowman, Sir Alexander Muncur, chaplains, etc.

92. Obligation by David Monipenny, laird of Pitmuly, to warrant the foresaid annual rent of six merks out of his lands of Pitmuly. Dated at Carale, 27th July 1528. Witnesses as in No. 90.

93. 1st August 1528.—David Monipenny is warned to pay to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthrysk, and his chaplains, prebendaries, doing service in the college kirk of Carale founded by him, and their successors, an annual rent of six merks out of his lands of the lordship of Pitmuly, beginning the payment at the first term of

Martinmas next, binding himself, his heirs, executors, and assignees, for the same, and to free Sir William from all ward, terce, relief, forfeiture, etc., till the redemption of the said annual rent, according to the tenor of Sir William's reversion made to him thereupon, under pain of cursing and payment of 160 lib. for skaith and expense, as oft as they should fail in payment of the said six merks.

94. Charter of sale by Alexander Myrtone, laird of Randelston and Newtone, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthrysk, and his assignees, prebendaries serving in the college kirk of Carale, of five pounds of annual rent from his lands of Newtone in the constabulary of Carale and sheriffdom of Fyff, in special warrandice of five acres of the lands of Randelston, with the sea-weed and with pasture of one horse, otherwise sold by the said Alexander to the said Sir William Myrtone and his assignees; so that if he or they were troubled or impeded in the peaceable possession of the said five acres, etc., and could not possess them peaceably by reason of ward, relief, or non-entry, or any other cause, it would be lawful to him and them to enjoy an annual rent of five lib. from his lands of Newtone, in special warrandice as aforesaid. Dated at Carale, 15th October 1528. Witnesses as before, with Sir Edward Annel, Sir Thomas Bowman, Sir Thomas Clark, Sir Alexander Muncur, chaplains; James Fowler, Laurence Gryg, George Corstrophyn, Andrew Kay, and David Hay.

95. Charter of alienation by Alexander Myrtone, laird of Randelston, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthrysk, and his assignees, etc., of five acres of his arable land of Randelstone, with sea ware and other pertinents, lying in the constabulary of Carale and shire of Fyff, containing twenty-one "ryggis," whereof ten lie above the castle of Randelston, ascending up to Stottis Gayt, and other eleven rigs thereof ascending from Stottis Gayt to the other lands of Randelston, with pasture of one horse, and the sea-weed for labouring the said five acres, and with as many horses and servants as those labouring may please, with "ish* and entry" to remove the grain from the said acres as should seem expedient, for the sum of 100 merks legal money of Scotland, paid to him by the said Sir William. To be held by the granter and his heirs in fee and heritage for ever, for payment of one penny in name of blensh farm

* Issue, access.

at Whitsunday, if asked only. Dated at Carale, 15th October 1528. Witnesses as above.

96. Obligation by Alexander Myrtone, "layrd of Randelston," to "Schyr Wylzhem Myrtone, vicar of the parych kyrk of Lawthrysk," etc., of the foresaid five acres of Randelston, "wyth ane hors gyrs,* with fre ingress and regress to the wayr and fra the wayr† with sa mony hors as plesis the lawboraris of the sayd fywe akaris," as contained in his charter. And if they could not be peaceably laboured, either by reason of ward, relief, non-entries, tierce, or other cause, the said Sir William to have ingress to an annual rent of five pounds out of his lands of Newton, according to the charter of warrandice made thereanent. Dated at Carale, 15th October 1528. Witnesses as in No. 94.

97. Instrument of seizin of Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthrysk, etc., of the above five acres of the lands of Randelston, with sea ware and grass of one horse, with free ish and entry to the haven of Randelston and the sea ware, as contained in the charter made thereupon. Also the same day, of the five pounds furth of the lands of Newton as in the charter of warrandice. Seizin given by Alexander Myrton, lord of Randelston and Newton. Dated 16th October 1528.

98. Notarial instrument certifying the resignation by Elena Meldrum, lady of the tierce of the lands of Randelston and Newton, spouse of umquhile John Myrtone, umquhile laird thereof, of her third part of the five acres of Randelston, contained and marched in the charter made by Alexander Myrton thereupon, in the hands of the said Alexander Myrtone in favour of a respectable and famous man, Sir William Myrton, vicar of Lawthrysk, etc. And further, she consented that the said Sir William and his prebendaries should enjoy the five pounds annually out of the lands of Newton, so far as pertained to her for her tierce, in warrandice of the said five acres if need were. And she procured the seal of John Abircrummy, one of the bailies of Carale, because she had not one herself. Done on the ground of the foresaid lands, 16th October 1528. Present—George Corstrophyn, Malcolm Malcomson, Thomas Smart, Laurence

* Grass or pasturage.

† Sea-weed.

Gryg, George Corstrophyn, Andrew Corstrophyn, David Hey, William Muyr, William Brovne, Sirs David Bowman, Thomas Bowman, Edward Annel, William Abircrummy, Thomas Clark, and Andrew Martyne, chaplains.

99. Notarial instrument certifying that on the 12th October 1512, in presence of Hugh Spens, professor of sacred theology, doctor of canon law (*decretorum doctor*), provost of the college kirk of St Salvator, and official principal of St Andrews, and of the notary and witnesses, compeared in judgment John Borthuik, lord of the franktenement of the lands of Balhouffe, Gordonyshall, and Petmarth, and Alexander Borthuik, his grandson, lord of the fee thereof. First, the foresaid John renounced the franktenement of the said lands, to the effect only that Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, and his assignees, should have continual payment yearly and termly of 20 merks from these lands, according to the tenor of a charter granted by the said Alexander Borthuik. Further, the said John and Alexander promised and swore to observe all things contained in the charters, letters of obligation, etc., and were warned by the lord official and his clerk of court to pay the said Sir William and his assignees, and his chaplains, and especially to Sir Patrick Machling and his successors, at the will of the said Sir William Myrtone, the said 20 merks, under pain of cursing, and to assign sufficient tenants who should be bound to make the payment. Done in the kirk of the preaching friars within the city of St Andrews, the said official sitting there in judgment. Present—Lawrence,* abbot of Inchaffray; Robert, abbot of Balmerinach;† Masters Robert Davidsons, James Wischart, Martin Balfour, John Spens, John Strathachin, etc.

100. Wednesday, 4th May 1531.—Sitting in judgment—Master John Weddell, licentiate in both laws, rector of Flisk, and official

* Laurence Oliphant was nominated Abbot of Inchaffray by bull of provision from Pope Alexander VI. on the 16th November 1495, on the resignation of George Murray. He died or resigned before December 1514 ("Vatican Act. Consist., Obligationi," *ad ann.*). This abbot is not mentioned in the imperfect list given in "Liber Insule Missarum," or "Register of Inchaffray," printed in 1847 by the Bannatyne Club.

† This abbot is omitted in the list given in "Liber Sancte Marie de Balmerinach," printed in 1841 by the Abbotsford Club.

principal of St Andrews, in St Ann's Chapel, in the city of St Andrews, in the consistory thereof, to give law and hear causes: which day Robert Borthuick of Gordonishall, son and heir to umquhile Alexander Borthuick of Gordonishall, being called to see and hear a certain act under form of instrument drawn by umquhile Mr John Bonar, notary, under the seal of the officialate principal of St Andrews, dated 12th October 1512, anent an annual rent of twenty merks from the lands of Balhouffie, Gordonishall, and Petmarth. Sold to Sir William Mertone, judicially transferred to the said Robert Borthuick. The judge accordingly transferred the same to him, and he was warned to observe it under pain of cursing. [Extract.]

101. Petition addressed to Andrew, Archbishop of St Andrews, Primate of all Scotland, *Legatus Natus* and of the Apostolic Sec, with power of a Legate *à latere*, and perpetual commendator of the monastery of Dunfermline, by Jonet, prioress of the monastery of nuns of Haddington, of his diocese, and Sir William Myrton, perpetual vicar of the parish kirk of Lawthresk, also of his diocese: Whereby on the narrative that by a certain agreement the said prioress and convent, chapterly assembled, had unanimously consented, for the praise, glory, and honour of the High and Indivisible Trinity—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the blessed and spotless Virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the Prince of the Apostles, St Andrew, patron of this kingdom and of the said diocese; and all the saints of the Celestial Court, for the welfare of the souls of James the Fourth, King of Scots, and of his spouse; the weal and prosperous state of the illustrious prince James the Fifth, King of Scots, and his successors; and for the father archbishop and his predecessors and successors; for themselves, their benefactors, predecessors and successors, and all the faithful dead, had formerly given consent, as the said prioress hereby consents, to the founding of a provostship, with certain prebendaries, and to that extent, that the vicarage of Carail of the said diocese, the presentation to which belonged to the said prioress and convent, and with consent of Master Alexander Dunbar, vicar of the church of Carail, who otherwise may be raised in the college kirk to the oversight and direction of the choir and of divine worship, and that he should find one vicar pensionary to do service in the cure of his said parish church, in the said college kirk of St Mary the Virgin of Carail, and shall sustain him. Which provostship

shall be always at the presentation of the said prioress and convent, and at the archbishop's collation ordinary. And the said Sir William Myrton, to the effect foresaid, consents that the seven chaplainries underwritten founded by him be raised into seven prebends for seven prebendaries for the oversight and disposition of the choir and divine worship. Which chaplainries or prebends as to their presentation or gifts should belong to him while he lived; and after his death, the third prebend to David Myrtone of Cambo and his heirs, the seventh prebend to the laird of Randalstoun and his heirs, and the other prebends to the bailies and community of Carail, and the admission to belong to the provost and chapter. And also John Abircrummy and George Kenloquhy, bailies of Craill, the whole community thereof, and the sundry parishioners of the parish kirk of Carail, gave their consent, as they hereby consent, that the chaplainry belonging to the Holy Rood and the chaplainry of our Lady belonging to the high altar at their gift and presentation, should be united and incorporated as two prebendaries of the said college kirk of Carail, for augmentation of divine worship, according to the tenor of the foundations. In the first place, that the provostship of St Mary the Virgin of the said college kirk of Carail be erected from the vicarage thereof, and the name of the vicarage suppressed. The provost to have for his sustentation all fruits, rents, and provents of the vicarage of the said church, with oblations and other emoluments pertaining thereto, and the whole manse or mansion and glebe ewest* to the said church; and to pay all ordinary burdens incumbent on the said church wont to be paid by him or his predecessors in times bygone; also to have a perpetual vicar pensionary, at his presentation and collation ordinary, to whom he shall pay yearly fifteen merks Scots; and the said vicar to have five merks Scots of the annual rents of Carail, according to the tenor of the charter to be made thereupon by the said Sir William Myrtone; the said vicar to be president of the choir after the death of the said Sir William Myrtone; the said Sir William presiding, if present, and in his absence the said vicar; and the provosts to have jurisdiction respectively in his absence; and in the absence of both, a senior prebendary of the choir shall preside by election of the chapter. The foresaid vicar to be a prebendary in the said church, and to obey the statutes of the chapter like the rest. The second prebend founded by Sir William Myrtone

* Adjacent.

in the choir, after the vicar shall be the prebend of the Aisle of St Mary the Virgin, in the said college kirk of Carail; so the prebendary thereof shall be called to have for his sustentation £14, 13s. 4d. Scots; first an annual rent of £6, 13s. 4d. from the lands of Balmonth, etc., and to be sacristan of the college, and do all the sacristan's duty, to wit, keep the books, cups, vestments and ornaments of the high altar and choir, and other *jocalia*, and bring them to the choir, and give them to those doing divine service, by himself or an honest servitor, to render an account of all ornaments given for the embellishment of the said college to the provost and chapter. The third prebend shall be called the second prebend of St Mary's Aisle; and for his sustentation the prebendary is to have £13, 6s. 8d. of the founder's annual rent out of the lands of Kelle and barony thereof. The fourth prebend shall be styled the prebend of St Michael's altar, in the college kirk of Carail, and the prebendary shall be skilled and trained in organs, and play on feast days, and at suitable times, or find a substitute, Sir David Bowman presently possessing the said prebend; and for his sustentation he is to have £13, 6s. 8d. Scots of the founder's annual rent of the lands of Kelle and barony thereof. The fifth prebend shall be called the second prebend of St Michael's altar; the prebendary to have £13, 6s. 8d. Scots out of the founder's annual rent out of Gordonishall, Pitmerth, and Balhuffie, as more fully contained in the charter given to Sir Patrick Mawchlyne, now possessor of the said prebend. The sixth prebend shall be styled the prebend of St James the Apostle, in the said college kirk; the prebendary to have £13, 6s. 8d. Scots from the lands of Sypseis, an annual rent of £4 Scots, etc., as more fully contained in the founder's charter to Master James Leiche, now possessor thereof. The seventh prebend shall be called the prebend of St Nicholas, in the college kirk; the prebendary to have £13, 6s. 8d. Scots, an annual rent of £8 from the lands of Cambo and Belsies, etc., as more fully contained in the charter to Sir William Turnour, priest, now possessor thereof. The eighth prebend to be called the prebend of St Bartholomew; the prebendary to have £13, 6s. 8d. Scots, an annual rent of £6, 13s. 4d. from the lands of Aldleys, etc., as more fully contained in the founder's charter to Sir William Andersone, now possessor thereof. The ninth prebend, united and incorporated by consent of the bailies and community and parishioners of the town and parish of Carail, which a certain chaplain, by name Sir George

Lumisdene, now possesses as prebendary thereof, to have for his sustentation as contained in his charter of foundation. The tenth prebend, united and incorporated in like manner by consent as above, shall be entitled the prebend of our Lady at the high altar; and to have for sustentation as contained in the charter of foundation, and two merks Scots of annual rent of Carail from Sir William Myrtone's foundation, prebend now possessed by Sir David Gawye. In the eleventh place, the bailies, community, and parishioners of Carail adjoin and bind to the said college a meet person, their parish clerk, skilful in chant and discant; to have for his sustenance the fruits, rents, and provents of the parish clerkship, and to sing at morning mass, vespers, and antiphons like the prebendaries; to have a secular clerk under him to ring the bells at the stated times, furnish fire and water for the kirk, and go through the parish with the holy water and for sprinkling, and to serve the vicar in doing his office, and keep the choir in all honesty, and light the candles upon the high altar and upon the hearses. Which chaplains or prebendaries shall daily, in chant and discant, as the season demands, celebrate matins, high mass, and vespers, as bound in the charters of foundation, and shall be bound to obey all college statutes, under the penalties contained in the said charters; the said Sir William Myrtone further willing and decerning that they shall be bound to personal residence, etc. All which charters of foundation he ordains to be copied and doubled, that as great faith may be given to the transumps as to the originals, together with the interposition of the reverend father's decree, or of the official principal of St Andrews, or within the archdeanery of Lothian, and with collation and subscription of a notary public, to the end that one copy of all the said charters should remain in the archbishop's register or that of his official, another in the register of the monastery of Hathington, a third at the college of Carail; further ordaining, that at the ringing of the bell which all the year shall begin regularly at the fifth hour and end at the sixth hour, all the said prebendaries, for the celebration of matins at the said sixth hour, shall meet in their habits as above, etc. [with many other regulations]; and if anything were omitted, the archbishop had power to supplement it. Praying therefore the most reverend father to confirm, ratify, approve, add, amend, etc., the foregoing extinction, erection, foundation, division, union, distribution, and rules of the foresaid chaplainries or prebendaries;

praying that Jesus Christ by the intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary may long preserve him to the happy government of the Church, and honour of the pastoral office. Sealed with the common seals of the nunnery of Hathingtoun, of Sir William Myrtone, and of the burgh of Carail, and dated at the said nunnery and burgh of Carail respectively, the 7th and 8th June 1517. Present—Mr John Hepburne of Benestoun, David Myrtone of Cambo, Alexander Myrtone of Randelstoun, John Lumisden of Ardre, William Hepburn, Andrew Hepburn, Luke Hepburn, esquires; Master Thomas Lumisden and Sir Richard Mauchlyne, priests.

102. Notarial instrument certifying that on the 3d of March 1516, Mr Alexander Dunbar, vicar of Carail, gave his irrevocable consent and assent to the erection of the said vicarage of Carail of St Andrews diocese into a perpetual provostship, according to the foundation and erection of the new college to be made in the parish kirk of Carail, promising, by reason of the erection of the said college, to give from the said vicarage, for himself and his successors, £10 yearly, to be uplifted furth of the said vicarage, on account of the creation of a new vicarage pensionary in the said provostry, etc.; and Sir William Myrtone promised five merks yearly to augment the foresaid vicarage pensionary, of his annual rents within the burgh of Carail, for the vicar pensionary. The gift of the vicarage pensionary to belong to the presentation of the said Mr Alexander Dunbar and his successors, provosts of the college. The vicar to make residence like the other prebendaries, but not more strictly than he was at the time of the erection, or than his predecessors had been in times bygone. Both parties promising to observe these stipulations by holding out their right hands to the notary. Done at Edinburgh, 3d March 1516. William Cunynghame, Master of Arts, notary public.

CONFIRMATIO ERECTIONIS.

103. Confirmation by Andrew, Archbishop of St Andrews, primate of Scotland, *legatus natus* of the apostolic see, etc., of the erection of the college of Carail, as contained in the petition addressed to him (No. 101), which is engrossed, confirming and ratifying the foundation of the college, gift, ordination, disposition, division, and distribution, as contained therein; and that the vicarage of Carail be

annexed and united to the said college and provostry of the same, and the erection of a vicar pensionary thereof, having taken mature consultation with the prior and chapter of the metropolitan kirk of St Andrews, as was usual in such arduous concerns, erecting hereby the said vicarage into the provostry of the said college of St Mary's of Carail, etc. Giving also power to increase the number of prebendaries to four, with four boys, provided the new prebendary have for his yearly sustentation the sum of £13, 6s. 8d. Scots, and every boy £4; reserving to him and his successors, obedience, jurisdiction, visitation, correction, and canonical punishment, and ordinary archiepiscopal and archidiaconal rights due before this annexation. Sealed with the archbishop's and chapter's seals. Dated at his city of St Andrews, 20th June 1517, and sixteenth year of his consecration, and third of his translation to the metropolis. Present—George Ferne, archdean of Dunkeld, rector of the University; Gavin Dunbar, principal archdean; Robert Forman, his brother-german, prothonotary of the apostolic see, dean of Glasgow, and commendator of Pythynweme; Hugh Spens, Professor of Sacred Theology, doctor of canon law, provost of the college kirk of St Salvator, and auditor-general of causes to his legation; John Weddell, licentiate in either law, canon of Moray, and official principal of St Andrews; John Sanchar, chancellor of Ross, apostolic prothonotary, the archbishop's secretary; and John Lauder, prebendary of Creichtoun, his notary.

104. Charter of confirmation and mortification by James, King of Scots, with consent, advice, and counsel of the three estates of the kingdom, assembled in Parliament, for the praise and honour of Almighty God, the increment of divine worship, etc., of a charter gift and grant by Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, founder of the college kirk of Carail, made to Almighty God, St Mary His mother, and all saints, and to eight chaplains, prebendaries of the said college kirk, and a vicar pensionary thereof; and for furnishing to the said college bread, wine, wax, chalice, books, ornaments, particular masses, obsequies, and other services; of certain annual rents, lands, tenements, houses, and acres of burgh lands, to the particular prebendaries and chaplains as specified in the several charters granted by Sir William Myrtone thereanent. The charter is engrossed, and is dated at the burgh of Carail, on the 20th

September 1526; which charter the king amply confirms, because the said college has been founded and made into a notable place and kirk of great devotion, where numerous miracles have been done by the power of our Creator and Saviour, God Almighty; and in an ancient borough of our kingdom, where sundry princes, his predecessors, had made their residence and dwelling-place, as he and his successors might do in time to come, as reasonable causes and occasions should befall, granting to the college any right he might have to the lands, annual rents, etc., through recognition, alienation, etc., reserving the suffrages of devout supplications by the said provost, prebendaries, and vicar pensionary, and their successors only. In witness whereof the great seal is affixed, and the seals of several members of the three estates, in testimony of their assent and consent are affixed. Witnesses—Gawin, Archbishop of Glasgow; George, Bishop of Dunkeld; Gawin, Bishop of Aberdeen, clerk of the rolls, register, and council; the king's brother, James, Earl of Moray; Archibald, Earl of Angus, Lord Dowglas; James, Earl of Arran, Lord Hammylton; Robert, Lord Maxwell; Patrick, prior of the metropolitan kirk of St Andrews; William, abbot of the monastery of Holyrood near Edinburgh; Archibald Dowglas, provost of the burgh of Edinburgh, the king's treasurer, and James Colvil of Vchiltre, comptroller and director of Chancery. At Edinburgh, 24th November 1526, and fourteenth year of his reign.

105. Charter of sale by William Lumisdene, lord of Ardre, to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, and founder of the college kirk of Caraill, and his assignees, prebendaries doing service in the said kirk, of two acres of arable land in the burgh of Caraill; also an annual rent of 12s. from the land of John Lyell in the same burgh; also an annual rent of 16s. from the lands of Andrew Bawne in the said burgh; for £58, 13s. 4d. paid by Sir William Myrtone to him, paying for the two acres yearly 4d. of burgh mail. Dated at Caraill, 16th August 1529. Witnesses—Master Thomas Lumisdene, Sir Andrew Martyne, Sir Thomas Bowman, chaplains; Adam Lumisdene, James Smert, John Cass, David Brown, etc.

106. Charter of vendition by Alexander Inglys of Ferwat, to Sir James Ewait, chaplain, and his assignees, of an annual rent of twenty merks Scots furth of the lands of Ower Caiplove in the shire

of Fyff, for 300 merks Scots paid therefor; reddendo one penny Scots at Whitsunday, if asked only. Dated at the manor place of Neder Caiplowe, 24th May 1544. Witnesses—Sirs David Bowman, John Henderson, chaplains; Archibald Malze, William King, and Alexander Callander.

107. Instrument of seizin on the foregoing annual rent of 20 merks from Ower Caiplowe to Sir James Eweat. Dated 21st June 1544. Same witnesses.

108. Obligation by the said Alexander Inglis of Terwat to warrant the said annual rent, under a penalty of 300 merks to be paid in the "parochie kyrk of Kylrynnne" within forty days after any molestation, no part of which to be allowed in the principal sum. Dated at Neder Caiplowe, 24th May 1544. Same witnesses.

109. Foundation, stating on the part of Master John Chalmer, Sirs David Bowman, Edward Annand, Thomas Bowman, John Brown, William Corstorphine, James Corstorphyne, William Coquiltone, William Abircrommy, Thomas Clark, Thomas Schirlene, Jasper Buchain, prebendaries and choristers of the college kirk of St Mary in Crail: That whereas Sir James Eweat, chaplain, had given them and their successors an annual rent of 20 merks out of Ower Caiplowe, under reversion of 300 merks, and had caused them to be seized therein, as more fully contained in letters made to them thereupon by Alexander Inglis of Terwat; therefore they, to the honour of God, etc., and for the honour, policy, and good odour of the kirk militant, bind themselves and their successors, to celebrate devoutly, as God by His grace might grant, daily, a mass of the Holy Ghost, for the estate of the church, king and kingdom, for the foresaid Sir James, Andrew Void, Jonet Vilson, spouse of the said Andrew, their parents and benefactors, at the altar of the Holy Rood, situated within the said college kirk. Also binding themselves to the said Sir James Eweat, that so soon as the said annual rent, leased by the said Sir James, should be redeemed, they should lay out the money, 300 merks, on like meadow ground for a like annual rent, for celebrating the said mass; also to sing and celebrate the exequies of the dead on the day immediately preceding the day of death of the said Sir James, with collects and others used in anniversaries, for the

soul of the said Sir James, his parents and benefactors; and on the day of his death to sing and celebrate a mass of requiem for his soul, etc., with solemn toll of bells, and four candles set and lit on a seemly table on his sepulchre, and to give eight coins to every priest resident in the college kirk, and celebrating the mass of requiem on the day of his obit; and to give to the ruler of the lights of the said kirk of Crail, for two candles to be lit every fourth ferial day, at the throne of the Holy Cross, at the foresaid singing of the mass of the Holy Ghost, and one candle on other ferial days, eight shillings yearly, all to be paid by their collector from an annual rent of 30s. from the tenement of John Lauta in the burgh of Craill, given to them and their successors by the foresaid Sir James in perpetual alms gift, promising faithfully to fulfil all the above written, as they should answer to Jesus Christ the Supreme Judge; and if they should become negligent or forgetful in fulfilling the premises, or came in the contrary of the foundation of the said Sir James, it should then be lawful to the prebendaries of the kirk of St Salvador of St Andrews, to intromit with the said 300 merks and annual rent, and apply them to their own use, and dispone thereon at their will, provided they performed the suffrages and other conditions of the foundation, the official of St Andrews having power to coerce the said prebendaries of St Mary's, if they proved remiss, by kirk censures, to fulfil the conditions of the foundation, contained in their present obligation, or cause them to resign the 300 merks and annual rent. Dated at the burgh of Craill, 7th December 1555. Witnesses—Sirs James Kay, John Dischintone, George Kynge. Subscriptions of Master John Chalmer, vicar pensionary; Sirs David Bowman, Edward Anand, Sir John Brown, Sir William Corstorphin, Sir William Congilton, Sir Thomas Bowman, Sir James Corstorphin, Sir Thomas Clerk, Sir Thomas Skyrling, Sir Jasper Bowquhane, Sir William Abyrcromme.

110. The ornamentis and sylver werk in the college kyrk of Caraille:

In primis at the hye alter, ane grit chaleis of sylver, duple gilt, contenand of weycht, xxiiij vncis and half-vnce. Item, ane grit ewcharist for the sacrament, duple gilt, contenand xlvj vnce and half-vnce. Item, ane litill ewcharist, nocht gilt, weyand viij vnce. Item, twa sylver sensouris, ilkane weyand xxv vncis, contenand 1 vncis. Item, twa sylver chandolaris, ilkane weyand xxxviij vncis

and half-vnce, in the hail contenand lxxvij vncis. Item, twa sylver crowattis, weyand baytht ix vncis, all giffin be Schir Thomas Myrtoun, vmquhil Archedene of Abyrdene and prowest off Caraill, etc. Item, ane cros off sylver, duple gilt, weyand xiiij vncis. Item, ane litill chaleis, syngle gilt, weyand xij vncis, baytht giffin be the priores of Hadyntoun. The hail sowme of the vncis of sylver werk at the hye alter is xij^{xx} of vncis. Item, thare of duple gilt, lxxxiiij vncis, and syngil gilt, vij^{xx} and xvj vncis.

Item, the ornamentis and vestimentis at the hye alter: In the first, ane stand of greyne welnot, viz., ane caype, ane chesable, twa tunykillis, with abbis, stolis, and fannonis, with orphesis ymagerye of fyne gold, with twa caipis for chantouris of greyne byrge satyne orphesit with reide byrge satyne, with pendikle and frontale to the hie alter of greyne welnot, giffin be the said Schir Thomas Myrtoun, etc. Item, ane stand of quhit dames, viz., caip, chesable, twa tunykillis, with abbis, stolis, fannonis, and paralyngis orphesit with claytht of gold, ane pendikle and frontale for the alter of quhit dames, with oder two quhit caippis of sylk for chantouris, giffin be the sayd Schir Thomas Myrtoun, etc. Item, ane stand of blew satyne, viz., ane chesable, twa tunykillis orphesit with ymagrye of gold, with abbis, stolis, fannonis, and paralyngis raferand thareto, with two caippis of blew chamblet, and ane caip of brown chamblet, giffin be the priores of Hadyntoun. Item, ane stand of blak, viz., ane chesable of blak velvet orphesit with claytht of gold, twa tunykillis of blak chamblet orphesit with gra chamblet, with abbis, stolis, fannonis, and paralingis conforme thareto, giffin be the fundatoure. Item, ane stand of downe sylk, viz., chesable, twa tunykillis, with abbis, stolis, fannonis, and paralyngis referand thareto. Item, ane blak stand of duple wyrset for mortis, viz., thre caippis orphesit with reide satyne, ane chesable with twa tunykillis, abbis, stolis, fannonis, and paralingis raferand to the caippis, with pendikle and frontale to the alter, and ane wayle to hyngie above the alter, all of blak duple wyrset with crocis of blak velvet and mort hedis on thame. Item, twa chesapillis for feriale dais, ane of blew chambelat, and ane of reide duple wyrset, with abbis, stolis, fannonis, raferand to thame. Item, thre pendikillis to the hie alter, ane of greyne byrgh satyne, ane of blew sairge, and ane of reide sairge, with frontallis of the sammyn. Item, thre oder frontallis, ane of sylk nedile werk, ane of wyrset nedile werk, and ane of blew chambelat. Item, fywe alter towallis,

and ane grit waile of bartane claitht, to hyngre befor the alter in lentrone, with ane wail of reide wyrset to hyngre befor the ymage of oure ladye. Item, twa sudoris of dene sylk for the seruyce in pascha. Item, ane grit messale of parchment tex hand for the hie alter. Item, ane baitkyne for mortis of blak duble wyrset, crosit with blak veluet.

The bukis in the queyre: In the first, twa hail bukis of the temporale callit Aspitiens, and twa hail bukis of the sanctis callit Sanctorum. Item, foure new half bukis, twa for symmer, and twa for wynter, contenand the temporale and sanctorum. Item, thre auld hail antiphonallis. Item, tene psalteris, all parchement, and fyne text hand. Item, ane new legeand of parchement in text hand, contenand the temporale, properte and comone of sanctis. Item, ane buk of evangelis, and ane epistolare. Item, ane lettronale in grit volume, contenand the breiffis off antamys, ymnis, rundis, graillis, and alla. Item, ane baitkyne of arres werk for the provest stalle, and sax cuschynnys. Item, ane buk in prent callit ordinarium divinatorum chenzeit at the desk at the hie alter. Item in the Lady yle, ane grit chaleis of sylver, duble gilt, contenand of weycht xxiiij vnce. Item, ane oder chaleis to the Lady yle off syluer, contenand off weycht xvij vnce, syngile gilt. Item, ane syluer chales to Sanct Michaelis alter, syngil gilt, contenand of weicht xv vnce and half vnce. Item, twa copper chaleisis, with coippis off syluer, singile gilt, price of the peice, iiij lib., all gifin be Schir Wylzem Myrtoun, fundatour of the college of Caraille. Item to the rude altere ane syluer chaleis, syngile gilt, weyand xvij vnce. Item, ane lital chaleis of syluer to Sanct Katryne alter, syngile gilt, weyand ix vnce and half vnce. Summa of vncis of syluer werk in the kyrk by the queyr is lxxxiiij. The haill sowme of syluer werk within the college kyrk of Carail is iiij^e xxiiij vnces.

The vestmentis and ornamentis in the Lady yle, and oderis altaris in the kyrk: Item in the lady yle, ane chesable of brown purple veluet, ane chesable of gra satyne, ane chesable of browne wariand taiffateis, ane chesable of reide scarlet, with abbis, stoilis, fannonis, and paralyngre raferand thareto. Item, foure pendencyllis to the lady alter, ane of reide sairge, ane of greyne taffate, ane of dune sylk, and ane of wyrset nedil werk, all with frontaillis, conforme to the pendikillis, with thre lang alter towallis. Item, twa wallis of reid sairge for the ymages in lentrone. Item, ane messail of parchymnt text

hand. Item, foure grit brasyne chandelaris and twa hyngand chandelaris. Item at Sanct Katryne alter, ane chesable of tanny chamblet, with ab, stoil, fannon, and paralingis. Item, twa pendakillis, with frontalis and thre alter towallis. Item, ane messail in prent. Item, two grit stannand brasyne chandelaris and foure hangand chandelaris. Item at Sanct Michaelis alter, ane chesable of blak veluet orphest with claytht of gold, ane oder chesable of quhit fusteane, with abbis, stolis, fannonis, and paralingis raferand to thame. Item, twa alter towallis, ane pendikle and a frontale, ane messale in parchement of text hand. Item, twa stannand brasyne chandelaris, and twa hyngand chandelaris. Item at Sanct James alter, twa chesabillis, ane of blak chamblet, ane oder of quhit fusteane, with abbis, stolis, paralingis, and fannonis referand to thame, twa alter towallis, with pendikle and frontale, twa stannand brasyne chandelaris, and twa hyngand chandelaris. Item at Sanct Jhone the Baptist alter, twa chesabillis, ane of blak chamblet, and ane of quhit fusteane, with abbis, stolis, fannonis, and paralingis referand to thame, ane messale in prent, and twa hyngand brasyne chandelaris. Item at Sanct Stewyne alter, ane chesable of quhit fusteane, with ab, stoil, fannon, and paraling, twa alter towallis, ane messale in prent, and twa hyngand brasyne chandelaris. Item at Sanct Jhone the Evangelist alter, ane chesable of reid sairge, with ab, stoil, fannon, and paralyng, twa alter towallis, ane prent messale. Item at Sanct Nicholas alter, ane chesable of blak chamblet, with ab, stoil, fannon, and paraling, twa alter towallis, with pendikle and frontale, twa litel stannand brasyne chandelaris, and twa hyngand.

III. Obligation by William Lumisdene, "larde of Ardre," to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of the parish kirk of Lawthresk and founder of the college kirk of Carail, to warrand two acres of heritable land lying within the "borrow" roods of Carail, and an annual rent of twelve shillings from a land belonging to John Lyell, within the said burgh, and an annual rent of sixteen shillings from a land belonging to Andrew Bawn in the said burgh, as they are bounded in the granter's charter thereof, under the penalty of nine score merks of good gold Scots money, for damage and skaith; referring himself to the jurisdiction of the official principal of St Andrews to put the present obligation to execution, who should have power to grant letters of cursing, etc., against the granter, his heirs, executors, and

assignees. Dated at Carail, 17th August 1529. Witnesses—Thomas Lumisdene, Schir Andrew Martyne, Schir Thomas Bowman, chaplains; Adam Lumisdene, James Smert, Lowre Greg, David Hay, John Lyell, John Cas, David Broun, and Thomas Symson.

112. Instrument of seizin proceeding on the resignation of William Lumisdene of Ardre, in the hands of John Abercrummy, one of the bailies of the burgh of Carail, of the said two acres of land within the burgh of Carail, in favour of Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk; Sir Thomas Bowman, and William Abircrummy, chaplains, prebendaries; also of two annual rents mentioned in the obligation immediately preceding to the same persons. Dated 25th August 1527. Witnesses—George Clapane, Thomas Corstorphyne, and James Moreis, and the others named in the preceding deed, Andrew Martyne, presbyter of St Andrews, being notary.

113. Saturday (die Sabbati), 28th August 1529.—William Lumisdene of Ardre, John Lyell, and Andrew Bawn, are warned, on their own confessions, to satisfy and pay to Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lawthresk, and his chaplains, prebendaries of the college kirk of Carail, doing divine service therein, five bolls and five pecks of bear, good and sufficient market stuff, and market measure, for the fermes of two acres of arable land, at the feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary, or within fifteen days next, and immediately following; and of 28s. of annual rent, from two tenements or burgh lands in the burgh of Carail, described in the obligation made to Sir William Myrtone thereon, under pain of cursing. Done before Mr Thomas Lumisdene, Walter Mar, Andrew Martyne, Alexander Reocht, Alexander Hakkat, chaplains; and James Tuedy, master of arts; and the lord of Ardre ratified his obligation. Dated the 17th day of August 1529.

114. Docquet by Robert Lausone, master of arts, clerk of St Andrews diocese, notary public, stating that he was personally present at the production, publication, collation, and reading of the charter of erection of the college of Carail; charter of confirmation of such erection by our sovereign lord, James the Fifth, King of the Scots, confirmed with his great seal; charter of confirmation of said erection, by Andrew Forman, late Bishop of St Andrews, primate of Scotland, *legatus natus* of the apostolic see, etc., with consent of the

chapter of the monastery of St Andrews, confirmed with his and their authentic seals ; and all and sundry instruments, charters, obligations, acts of consistorial court of the lord official principal of St Andrews, and other documents and evidents within this register, on the sundry lands, burgh and landward, fermes, annual rents, annexed and founded by Sir William Myrtone, vicar of Lauthresk, founder of the college of Caraill, belonging and mortified to the said college of Caraill and prebendaries thereof, expressed in such evidents ; and the said charters of erection and mortification, and alienation of lands and annual rents aforesaid, instruments, obligations, and other documents foresaid, and acts of the principal, according in all things with the foresaid copies contained in the present register. In fine, at the publication and transcription of the said writs, by a venerable and famous man, Master James Symson, rector of Kirkforther, and official principal of St Andrews, sitting in judgment in the chapel of St Ann, in the city of St Andrews, in the consistorial place thereof ; the said official's edict preceding, duly executed, indorsed, and produced in judgment, citing all having interest to see such evidents registered and collated in form of law, and his decret and authority interponed, under pain of contumacy of those having interest and not compearing ; that to such copies of writs and evidents contained in the foresaid register, collated with the originals, as much faith in judgment and outwith should be given as to the said originals, if they were produced ; and that he was with the notarus collating the said evidents with the originals, and took a note thereof ; and by the judge's authority, published and signed the same with his subscription, sign, and name, used and wont, in witness of the truth of the premises, together with the appension of the seal of the said official ; whereupon Walter Moir, procurator in behalf of Sir William Myrtone, founder of the said college, asked an instrument. Done in the consistory foresaid, 23d September 1529. Present—Master Martin Balfour, vicar of Monymell ; George Strang, Alexander Symson, procurators of the consistorial court of St Andrews ; Sir Robert Buylt, chaplain ; John Mar, and Thomas Ferre.

115. Notarial instrument certifying that Sir James Ewiat, chaplain, appointed Mr Alexander Currur, Sirs David Bowman, Edward Annand, Thomas Bowman, Thomas Clerk, and the rest of the prebendaries of the college kirk of St Mary the Virgin in Caraill, and

their successors prebendaries there, his lawful and irrevocable cessioners and donators, in and to 300 merks, laid out by the said Sir James, on an annual rent of 20 merks, on the lands of Over Capluoe, otherwise called Third Pairt, as more fully contained in the charter thereof, whereupon Jasper Buythquhan asked an instrument in behalf of the prebendaries. Dated at Craill, 11th June 1553. Witnesses—Master David Gawe, David Dischinton, and Sir William Congilton; John Brown, presbyter of St Andrews diocese, being notary.

116. Instrument of seizin on precept granted by Alexander Inglys of Terwat, in favour of David Bowman, Edward Annand, William Corstorphin, Thomas Bowman, William Congilton, Thomas Clerk, and the remnant prebendaries of the college kirk of Craill, and their successors, of an annual rent of 20 merks Scots out of his lands of Third Part, alias Over Caiplwe, which annual rent formerly belonged to James Eweat, chaplain, and to which he had made the said prebendaries his assignees. Precept is dated at Ynglis Terwat, 5th May 1554. Witnesses—David Ynglis, Sir John Johnstoun, chaplain; and John Broun, notary. Seizin taken 9th May 1554. Witnesses—Andrew Zoull, Andrew Smyth, Patrick Lumysden, and John Makye.

117. Notarial instrument certifying that Sir James Eweat, chaplain, personally passed to the chapter house of the college kirk of Craill, where the prebendaries were chapterly assembled, and then gave and delivered to them "numerate money," £10 Scots, which he had received from an honourable man, Andrew Tod, dwelling in Pitcorthe Ester, for an anniversary, to be held by the prebendaries, by singing a mass for the soul of the said Andrew, and of a requiem, on the day of his sepulture, with obsequies on the preceding day, of which sum the said prebendaries discharge the said Sir James for ever. Dated 4th June 1553. Witnesses—John Bell of Kircalde, John Symson, and Sir George King, chaplain. John Bowman, presbyter of St Andrews diocese, notary public.

118. Notaries docquet by George Atkinson, clerk of St Andrews diocese, notary public, bearing that he, being personally present at the reading, production, publication, and collation of the charters, instruments, acts of the consistorial court of St Andrews, and other

evidents written in the present register, agreeing word by word with the original and principal writs, and at the publication, transumpt, and decret, on such evidents, by the foresaid lord official principal of St Andrews, sitting in judgment in the consistorial place thereof, with the notary before written, and took a note thereof, and has subscribed, published, and signed with his sign, name, and subscription manual, used in wont, and witness of all and sundry the premises.

119. Docquet by John Broun, master of arts, clerk of St Andrews diocese, notary public, certifying in like terms, and that he was present with Robert Lausone, notary above written.

120. Ordinance by the Archbishop of St Andrews, bearing that the chaplains, and chorister, or prebendaries of the college kirk of Craill, by the tenor of their foundation, shall be bound, every night in the year after the song or antiphon ordinarily sung in the aisle, founded by Sir William Myrton, founder and endower of the said kirk, before the psalm *de Profundis*, to say five times a *pater noster* and *ave*, with the creed, with a devout and submissive voice, for the weal of the soul of the said founder, and of all the faithful dead. For which celebration they shall receive yearly 40s., which James, Archbishop of St Andrews, deeming to be right and honourable, commands and ordains to be observed, as inserted, appointed, and confirmed by him, under the pains contained in his letters following. Signed by command of the archbishop, by Andrew Elephant, notary public.

121. Letters of confirmation by James, Archbishop of St Andrews, primate of Scotland, *legatus natus*, etc., whereby on the narrative of the foundation of the college kirk of Craill, and the erection and confirmation of the same by Andrew, Archbishop of St Andrews, his predecessor; and that John, surnamed Heburn, then procurator of the archbishop's church and vicar-general, the see being then vacant, had approved certain lawful and honest statutes made thereupon; and that a petition had been lately presented to him by his beloved son, Sir William Myrtoun, vicar of Lauthrisk, first and principal founder of the said college of Craill, for himself and other founders of the said kirk, bearing that certain other new statutes, ordinances,

or charitable exhortations, adopted by him, with advice of men of prudence and those skilled in law, and to be observed by the provost, vicar, and prebendaries, choristers, singers, officers, and boys of the college, for evermore, besides the statutes in the first erection, viz., First, exhorting that divine service in the choir should be performed with understanding; the meaning of words understood; the force of accents learned, what acute and what grave, in singing, etc., making devout preparation for divine praise, etc. Secondly, and above all, to seek to please God by offering the sacrifice of praise heartily; getting true grace and glory to themselves and others; kindling in the hearers love of the celestial country, devoutly representing the host of fellow-citizens of the church triumphant, glorifying God in hymns and songs, as the psalmist says, "*sacrificium laudis honorificabit me,*" etc. Thirdly, to pronounce carefully the syllables, letters, consonants, and vowels, from the beginning of worship to the end, avoiding all interruptions. Fourthly, to observe great reverence in carriage, as in kneeling, prostrations, bowing leisurely and deeply, refraining from wandering and careless looks, and keeping the strictest silence. Fifthly, harmoniously, so that the first chorus do not begin the verse until the second chorus have ended. Sixthly, heartily, not sparing their voices. Seventhly, moderately, beginning everything with due readiness, not raising the voice too high, nor falling too low. Eighthly, with difference according to the services, etc. Ninthly, with accord and unanimity of heart, so that all devoutly study to perform the divine praises, etc. Tenthly, strictly charging that on every Saturday in the year in the chapter, the sundry statutes and others contained in the foundation, erection, and confirmation, or that may be established in time to come, be all collected into one table, and be weekly published and read. And to the petition was subjoined, that if these new statutes were ratified by the archbishop, and adjoined to the erection of the college, it would tend to the weal of the same; and that the said Sir William Myrton humbly supplicated him to interpose his ordinary authority for the observation thereof. Therefore the archbishop confirms and ratifies all the preceding statutes, and adds them to the statutes of erection, to be observed by the prebendaries and others of the college. Whereanent he gives powers and authority to Sir William Myrton, founder and endower foresaid, for his life, for his numerous virtues and merits, which were well known to the donor,

and for his legality, knowledge, discretion, honesty of life, and sound conscience, having full faith in the Lord, and daily experience thereof, and to his successors of the said college, or rectors of the choir for the time, and presidents of the chapter, according to their conscientious judgment, any of the choristers or others, who, in time of divine service in the quire, shall make disturbance with vain stories, wandering talk and folly, etc., and who, after warning, would not cease the disturbance, and to suspend all such; and also to impose a fine on those absenting themselves from the quire. Dated at the archbishop's palace of St Andrews, 29th June 1530. Witnesses—Mr John Weddell, official principal of St Andrews; James Symson, official in the archdeanry of Lothian; Abraham Creichtoun, rector of Chirnside; Gilbert M'Math, the archbishop's chaplain; Sir Walter Mar, priest; William Skirling, his cubicular, and George Boswald; Andrew Elephant, clerk of St Andrews diocese, M.A., notary public.

THE END.

On a leaf at the beginning of the volume.

COPIA ACTA PENES EMPHIOTESIM TENEMENTORUM JACENTIUM IN NEW CLOS, INFRA CIUITATEM SANCTANDREE.

23d February 1541.—George Malwyl, citiner of St Andrews, is warned to pay to the chaplains and choristers of the college kirk of Caraille yearly, after Whitsunday next, seven merks Scots, having long occupied the forehouses with the west booth, called the Wester Land, near by the parish church, under the pain of cursing, etc. Extract from the books of the official principal of St Andrews.

DUNCAN TRUMBULE.

Friday, 2d March 1542.—Duncan Trumbule, citiner of St Andrews, warned to observe a charter made to him by the choristers of Caraille anent the feu of a house in New Close, for 48s. of ferm yearly, 24s. termly. Extract as above by Mr George Atkinsoun.

ALEXANDER THOMSOUN.

2d October 1542.—Citiner of St Andrews, warned to pay the choristers 43s. 4d. yearly, according to their charter to him.

Same day.—Andrew Wrycht is warned to pay 46s. 8d. yearly; also William Kynlocht for 46s. 8d. for houses lying in New Close.

ANDREW EDNAM.

Thursday, 18th January 1542.—Citiner of St Andrews, warned to fulfil a charter made by the choristers of Caraille to him of a house in New Close for 46s. 8d. yearly of ferm.

ALEXANDER KYRKALDE.

Wednesday, 18th April 1543.—Citiner of St Andrews, warned to observe a charter made to him by the choristers of a tenement in the New Close, for the fermes of the house, being 48s. yearly; also warned to pay the choristers or prebendaries 40s. between and Lambas.

ON THE LAIRDS OF ARDROS.

27th May 1541.—William Dischinton, lord of fee of the lands of Ardros and barony thereof, and George Dischinton, lord of the franktenement thereof, acknowledged a charter of alienation of an annual rent of six merks Scots from the lands of Ardros, made to the prebendaries, choristers of the college kirk of Caraille, and swore to observe them under the pain of perjury; and are warned to observe the said charter and obligation, and pay the said annual rent. Present—Mr David Dischinton, precentor of Aberdeen; James Dischinton, Mr John Dischinton, James Hutsoun; Sirs John Henderson and John Atkynson, chaplains.

VISITATIONS OF THE PLAGUE AT LEICESTER.

By WILLIAM KELLY, Esq.,
Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

HAD Daniel Defoe not immortalised himself as the author of that inimitable work "Robinson Crusoe," he would still have held a prominent place in the foremost rank of English novelists by the production of two of his less known works, which have been over-shadowed by his great masterpiece, namely, the "History of the Plague in London," and the "Memoirs of a Cavalier." These historical romances, or, as they might be more accurately termed, imaginary autobiographies founded on facts, are such life-like delineations of character, and so historically true in colouring, down to the minutest touches of detail, while the scenes depicted have such an absorbing interest thrown over them, that we might well believe them to be veritable chronicles of the two imaginary heroes who are supposed to relate the events in which each is described as bearing so prominent a part, and either of whom might well exclaim with Father Æneas:

"Quæque ipse miserrima vidi
Et quorum pars magna fui."

Of the "History of the Plague in London," Sir Walter Scott, in his "Miscellaneous Works" (vol. iv., p. 290, ed. 1827), says: "This is one of that particular class of compositions which hovers between romance and history. Undoubtedly Defoe embodied a number of traditions upon this subject with what he might actually have read, or of which he might otherwise have received direct evidence."

In giving a "History of Visitations of the Plague at Leicester," derived from the manuscript records of the borough (most of which papers now appear for the first

time), we shall be continually reminded of the thorough truthfulness of the details embodied by Defoe in his work.

In instituting this comparison between Leicester and London, due allowance must, of course, be made for the great difference in population of the two places, that of Leicester then probably not exceeding 6000 (now nearly twenty times that number); but still the same system of treatment of the "visited people" was pursued in both, and Leicester, like London, suffered at frequent intervals from this dreadful scourge.

The first record we have of one of these epidemics is thus given by Throsby in his "History of Leicester," under the year 1342: "A grievous distemper raged in Leicester about this time, of which numbers died. It was attended, we are told, with such violent pains, that the cries of the afflicted were like the yelling of a dog." What was the precise nature of the disease, and whether it was identical with that usually termed "the Plague," seems doubtful.

Under the year 1349 we have to record probably the most dreadful and universal plague which ever raged in England, known here as "The Great Plague of Edward III.," and "The Black Death" of northern Europe, and the visitation of which in Italy in 1348 formed the groundwork of Boccaccio's "Decameron," the author having been an eye-witness of the devastation caused by the pestilence in Florence. He tells us that "in the year 1348 there happened at Florence, the finest city of Italy, a most terrible plague, which, whether owing to the influence of the planets, or that it was sent from God as a just punishment for our sins, had broken out some years before in the Levant, and after passing from place to place, and making incredible havoc all the way, had now reached the West, where, spite of all the means that art and human foresight could suggest, as keeping the city free from filth, and excluding all suspected persons, . . . in the spring of the foregoing year it began to show itself in a sad and wonderful manner."

We learn that this pestilence, after breaking out in the

East in 1346, and being brought into Italy in 1348 (as above mentioned), in the same year crossed the Alps, and after spreading over France and Spain, appeared on the sea-coast of Dorset in 1349, and was hence communicated to Devon, and subsequently to other parts of the kingdom at a season of great national prosperity.

The ravages of this pestilence in England were terrible; 50,000 people were swept away by it in London, while the city of Bristol suffered so, that grass grew several inches high in the High Street and Broad Street. In some parts nearly half the population is said to have been cut off.

Of the origin, progress, and nature of the disease, which, we are told, quite puzzled the astrologers, many particulars may be gathered from our ancient historians, as Fabian, Walsingham, and others; while the history of the time is full of accounts of curious atmospheric phenomena, of comets, meteors, fiery beams, and other coruscations.*

Boccaccio relates that in the East a bleeding at the nose preceded the pestilential attack, but at Florence there appeared upon the plague-stricken certain tumours in the groin, or under the arm-pits, some as big as a small apple, others as an egg; and afterwards purple spots in most parts of the body, in some cases large and but few in number, in others less and more numerous, both sorts the usual messengers of death, which, *without fever in most cases*, usually occurred on the third day, neither medical skill nor the power of drugs being of any avail; and he adds that "the disease, by being communicated from the sick to the well, seemed daily to get ahead, and to rage the more, as fire will do by laying on fresh combustibles." Nor did the infection pass only from man to man, but to the brute creation, vast numbers of animals having perished from it.

Of the fearful ravages of this great visitation at Leicester, we gather some minute particulars from the contemporary chronicle of Henry of Knighton, a monk of Leicester

* See remarks at the end on "the connection between Magnetic Phenomena and Epidemic Diseases."

Abbey, who, like Boccaccio, was an eye-witness of what he relates.

He tells us that this most dreadful and universal plague, after arising in the eastern parts of the world, spread itself with the sun westward, and came to England; and particularly at Leicester it raged so virulently, that there died in the little parish of St Leonard above 380, in that of the Holy Cross (now St Martin's) above 400, and in that of St Margaret above 700, and so in other parishes proportionably.

Here also, as in Italy, "there was such a rot of sheep, and that putrified them in such a manner, that neither birds nor beasts would touch them." And we are told that the calamity was so great, and every one so apprehensive of death, that neither riches nor anything else were minded by any one, so that everything was extremely cheap, for Knighton assures us that in Leicester a man might buy a horse, which before was worth 40s., for half a mark (6s. 8d.); a fat ox for 4s., a cow for 12d., a heifer for 6d., a fat mutton for 4d., a sheep for 3d., a great hog for 5d., a stone of wool for 9d., etc.

There was one peculiarity in the pestilence of this year, inasmuch as it was observed that it seized chiefly the meaner sort of people.

It is believed that at the least two thousand of the inhabitants of Leicester, or one-third of the entire population, were swept away by this terrible scourge; and even these ravages were less than in many other towns, if we are to believe the statements given by Walsingham, and also by the annals of the Abbey of Newenham, near Axminster, in which this is described as "the most fatal pestilence recorded in the history of mankind."

The next appearance here of the plague was in the year 1361, in the mayoralty of William Goldsmith, when from January to July it ravaged both France and England, but in a different manner from the former visitation in 1349, when it attacked chiefly the meaner sort of people, for now it was more destructive of the nobility and gentry; but of which we have few local particulars beyond the important fact, that

while under the form of this fearful scourge pale Death doubtless knocked at the humble doors of hundreds of the poorer denizens of Leicester, in spite of the strong towers of its proud castle, the King of Terrors also entered there, and laid low its all-powerful lord; for as we learn on "the 24th of March in that year Henry, 'the good Duke of Lancaster,' died of the plague at his castle of Leicester," where he had made his will nine days previously, and in which he minutely prescribed the manner of his funeral in the collegiate church of the Newarke, within the precincts of the castle, which he directed should be "without the pomp of armed men, or horses covered, or other vanities." The king and queen, the Black Prince, and other relatives of the duke, were to be invited to attend the funeral. Barnes, the historian, in his notice of this visitation of the plague, adds: "Thus died a man more worthy to live for ever—even the great, valiant, and liberal prince, Henry Plantagenet."

Passing on to the middle of the sixteenth century, although doubtless, in the interim, many unrecorded ravages of the plague took place in Leicester, we for the first time derive information on the subject from the archives of the corporation of Leicester. Although the fact is not recorded in those archives, there can be no doubt that the plague prevailed in Leicester during the years 1559, 1560, and 1561, as we find from St Martin's parish register—the earliest we possess—that the burials, which were only 12 in the year 1558, rose to no less than 57 in the succeeding year, 37 in 1560, and 39 in 1561; while next year they again sunk to 23.

It is not, however, until the year 1564, that we meet with such entries as the following in the chamberlains' accounts, extending from Michaelmas 1563 to the same feast in the following year:

"Item, paid for Michael Nutt, the thyrd day of Maye
[1564], to buye meate for them that kept Stowton's
house,

xx^d

Item, paid to Richard Stoughton when his wief and
child was buried,

iijs iiijs^d

Item, paid to Losebye's wief for keepinge Ellyn Marsholle's children when she was at Stowghton's house,	iijs ^s iiij ^d
Item, paid to Bagnall's wief when she was vyzited with the plagge, the space of vij weeks,	vij ^s
Item, paid to Inglysshe's wief, of Anstye, for kepyng Kyrckame's house, beyng visited with the plague for x weeks, at xvj ^d a week,	xiijs ^s iiij ^d
Item, paid to Izabell Frere for the lyke for x weeks,	x ^s

We here have the first reference to the general custom of shutting up and strictly isolating the inhabitants of any houses which might be unfortunate enough to be "visited with the sickness," and respecting which practice we shall meet with many highly curious particulars hereafter.

This cruel (although then deemed necessary) practice is more fully explained in the following order, which we find recorded in the "Town Book of Acts," under the title "An Act agaynst them that are vysytt with the plague, and will not kepe their houses."

"Att a Comon Hall, holden at Leicester the laste daye of June, in the sixe year of the reign of our Souverain Lady Elizabeth, etc., etc., and in the tyme of the meraltie of Mr Richard Davye, by the assent, consent, and agrement of the same mayor and his brethren, called the xxiiij^d, and the xlvij^d, in the name of the wholl body of the same towne of Leicester, it was agreed and inacted, that if any person dwelling within the lyberties of the said towne of Leicester at any tyme chaunce to be vysyted with the plague, presume to goe abrod amongst them that are clere, within the space of tow monithes after, that any shall fortune to dye of the plague in his or her howse, shall forfytt for everye such offence fyve pounds of good and lawfull money of England, to be payed to the use of the chamber of the said towne of Leicester; and if any person so offendyng be not able to paye the said some of v^{li}, that then he or they shall lose their fredome of the same town, and for ever after be banyshed out of the same without any redempcon."

From this regulation we see how stringently the practice was carried out—the fine of £5 being probably equal to at least £50 in the money of the present day.

The first entries of the "Pest Burials" recorded in St Martin's parish register for 1564 (for deaths from the plague are now so indicated), occur on the 11th May, when a daughter of "William Righlye" and "Bagalie's sonne" died of the disease. On the 25th, "Awfray, daughter of Richard Bagalie, of the pest;" and on the 3d June, "Richard Baglye" himself died of it—being doubtless the same individual referred to in the chamberlains' account as "Bagnall"—our old account-keepers frequently varying the spelling of the same name in the most extraordinary manner.

This year, in consequence of the prevalence of the pestilence during the hot weather, the judges would not come on circuit to Leicester, but held the summer assizes at Loughborough—a similar course being pursued on several subsequent occasions.

Of this visitation, Mr R. Payne Collier, in his "Annals of the Stage" (vol. i., p. 188), states: "The plague, or more properly an infectious and fatal fever brought by the English troops from Holland, raged furiously in the year 1563; and it is recorded by Camden that no less than 21,530 persons perished in London." He adds, that "Archbishop Grindall took this opportunity of using his exertions for the inhibition of all popular dramatic amusements for a year, if not entirely and for ever."

In some of our local histories 1583 has been set down as a plague-year in Leicester, but on what data we know not, as no reference to it appears among the corporation records, but the parish register of St Martin's rather tends to corroborate the statement—the deaths having been 30 in 1582 (which was a plague-year in London), and 36 in 1583, while in the following year they fell to 19.

Ten years later, however, we have no lack of materials, for the corporation archives during the years 1593 and 1594 contain a profusion of correspondence, etc., in reference to the plague, which ravaged the town from the summer of the former year to nearly the same period in the latter.

On the 21st September 1593, at a common hall in the

mayoralty of Robert Heyricke, the following order was made:

"Agreed that y^e xxiiij^d shall pay weekelye towards the charges of the vizited ij^s a peece, and the xlvij^d xij^d a peece weekelye, and nowe to begyn for the weeke paste, and so forwards."

And again on the 19th October it was

"Agreed to contynewe the weekelye [collection] for the vizited people for three weeks longer, which ys the xxiiij^d ij^s a peece weekelye, and the xlvij^d xij^d a peece weekelye, and the comons to be taxed according to theire habilities."

So great became the charges upon the corporation exchequer for the watching and maintenance of the many "visited people" shut up in the infected houses, and for the five or six hundred poor people who were forcibly debarred from going out of the town to prevent their spreading the infection among the country people, that we find the authorities applying to the Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Huntingdon, to exert his influence with the justices of the county to get some weekly allowance made by their order in aid of this expense.

It is evident that the earl (who as Lord-President of the north, was then at York) sent a favourable reply to the mayor's application, but as the letter is not among the hall papers, it was probably sent by the mayor to the county justices assembled in quarter sessions at Market Bosworth, and retained by them together with the application from the corporation.

We have, besides other papers, the drafts of upwards of twenty letters addressed by the mayor and others to the Earl of Huntingdon, his relative Sir George Hastings, deputy to the Lord-Lieutenant—the high sheriff, and other justices of peace for the county; all urging the necessity for more liberal pecuniary aid to "the poor town of Leicester" in its sore distress.

These letters contain many curious details of the condition of the plague-stricken town at the time, but the limited space

at our disposal will only enable us to give a very brief abstract of their contents.

We have first the copy of a letter to Sir George Hastings, in which the mayor states that the charge daily groweth greater and greater, by reason of the infection of the plague or pestilence it had pleased Almighty God to lay upon the town, and the poor also daily increasing for want of their "trafique" and liberty to go abroad—the charge among the visited people only not being so little as £20 a week; and the relief among the poor who stand clear, but are forced to keep their houses, not being so little as £10 a week—he is therefore a humble suitor unto his worship (who next, under the good earl, is the only commander of the county) to have compassion on this poor town, that the county may be assessed weekly £20 towards the better relief of the visited and poor of the town. This letter, coupled with the previous application to the Earl of Huntingdon, appears at length to have had some effect, for we next have a letter dated from Bosworth, 20th September 1593, signed by Sir George Hastings and three other county justices, addressed to the mayor, and telling him, "we have this day taken order for the relief of the poor of your town by the support of the country," and the pestilence being so dangerous, they desire none should enter the town from the country, nor any of the town go abroad into the country; and they heartily pray that the holding of market assemblies should cease for some time, as winter being at hand, they hope it may, if it shall please God, occasion some stay of the sickness.

The letter is accompanied by an order from the justices to the head constables within the hundred of East Goscote, which set forth, that it having pleased Almighty God to visit the town of Leicester with the contagious sickness of the plague or pestilence, and the justices, moved with the conservation of the said town, being the chief of the county, and also respecting the state of every other town, that they may be delivered from the like infection, had, with the mayor, aldermen, and governors of Leicester, restrained the going

abroad of the inhabitants, and to stay the resort of others thither for some time, by which the town was like to be greatly impoverished and pinched, unless some charitable and Christian consideration be had in that behalf. Therefore it willed the constables to make some good and reasonable collection and benevolence of money weekly for the supply of the poor and distressed state of the town; and that the ministers and curates should move their parishioners to deal Christianly and charitably with their neighbours as they would wish if themselves were in the like distress and misery, with more to the same effect.

This and similar orders to other hundreds of the county appear to have had scarcely any effect, for on the 15th October we find another letter from the mayor to the justices of the county, stating, that notwithstanding their orders for these weekly collections for the visited and poor of Leicester, no money had come to his hands, except eighteen shillings out of Guthlaxton Hundred on the previous Saturday, and he urges, that as the charges are so great, the weekly collections should, by means of their worships, be made and sent in regularly; and in a postscript the mayor urges that the gentlemen of the county should, like Sir George Hastings, the high sheriff, and others, contribute to the fund themselves, adding that the poor people will not be kept shut up in the town without daily relief at their own houses.

Somewhat later the mayor writes in another letter, that "it hath pleased God to visit our town with the infection of the plague in many houses, to the number of twenty-one, as is suspected, out of the which are dead about thirty-five persons, in which houses are many persons living who are kept in, besides some others near adjoining (being suspected for the same), also kept in by continual watch and ward night and day, in every place suspected; and there being many besides to the number of five or six hundred, who, for the same cause, are not suffered to go out of the town," the charges are consequently very great, and he therefore earnestly desires that some weekly contributions may be had for their relief, adding

that, although he understood there was an order made by their worship at the last sessions for the same, nevertheless, as yet, no money had come into his hands. In another addressed to Mr Humfrey Purefoy of Barwell, one of the justices, after referring again to the distressed state of the town as certified in a former letter, the mayor proceeds: "Sythence which time I have received letters from my very good lord, the Earl of Huntingdon, to certify his honour of the state of our town, the which I answered accordingly, and now of late have further received from his honour certain letters, whereof one to the justices." He then adds: "There is as yet very little come in towards their relief" (*i.e.*, the "visited" and poor people); "this day but only 3s. 6d; the last Saturday not much more, and this day fortnight but only 7s." Then follows a bill of health, or return of the names of the persons whose houses were "visited" on the 4th of October 1593, with the numbers dead in every house, probably drawn up for the information supplied to the Earl of Huntingdon as above mentioned.

We find that in St Martin's parish there were fifteen "houses visited," two in "Mylnestone Lane," four in "South Gate, ye east side," and eight in St Mary's parish. The number of dead in these houses was returned as forty-four, nine of these (probably of one family) being named Messenger; while three houses were returned as having four dead of the plague in each house.

There was also a house (Thomas Brown's) returned as visited in the lane at the back of Sir George Harrington's house (in High Street), which had four dead.

"There ys dyvers sick in the said houses which be vizited, and there ys dyvers houses hedged in and kept in that have mixt amongst the vizited people, which are all releved daylye of the townes charges, and so must be untill further tryall of them.

"Also we have greate number of poor, about some v or vj C [500 or 600], which are nowe all kept within the town, and are not able to lyve without relief, expectinge daylye some relief out of the countrye."

On the 18th October we find the mayor again addressing a letter to Sir George Hastings and the other county justices assembled at Bosworth, in which he presents a sad picture of the poverty-stricken state of the townspeople. He says that the taxation of the inhabitants for the relief of the visited and other houses had become so oppressive, and the inhabitants find themselves so grieved thereby, that many of them offer to go to prison rather than to continue as they are; that besides the visited and suspected houses there are 500 or 600 poor at the least, who yet stand clear of infection, who have to be relieved to prevent their going into the country, so that they now cry unto him grievously by reason thereof, and say that they have sold and gaged all that they have to maintain themselves, and that they would either be forced to live upon alms, or to die in their houses, which they say they will not do, but begin to threaten him that they will go abroad, and so peril their lives before they will thus continue. The mayor, after renewing his humble petition for some reasonable weekly allowance out of the county, promises that the corporation will so govern and order the visited and poor people as they trust will be to their worships' liking, and for the good of the town; and that as concerning the markets, they hope in God to have such care for the ordering thereof as shall in no way be hurtful or dangerous to the comers thereto; and he concludes by commending their worships to the blessed tuition of the Most High.

On the 28th November we have the following letter addressed by the mayor to Thomas Skeffington and William Cave, Esquires—(slightly imperfect at the top):

"RIGHT WORSHIPFUL.—After our right h[earty thanks for your] most curtiouse letter, these are accordinge to your [desire to let you know] the true estate of our towne at this present touching the g[reat visitation], it hath pleased God to lay upon the same, the which we beseche the Almighty of his infynytt goodness to take shortly from us; it is increased in dyvers houses verie lately, so as at this tyme there ys at the leaste sixe and forty houses knowne to be infected with the said sicknes, and some other houses doubted,

which (for the better tryall thereof) wee have caused to be kept in. And there is dead thereof sythence the begynnyng persons young and old, fyve score and seven at the least, which are all (saving three houses) kept and relyved with meate, dryncke, fyer, candle, water, sope, and keepers by the towne, of such monye as we have weekly collected amongst ourselves and the inhabitants of our towne, beinge of any reasonable habillytye, together with suche monye as we have receyved from the gentlemen of the countye. All which hath nothinge neere defrayed the daylye charges we have been att aboute the vizited people."

The letter concludes by expressing a hope that at least £16 weekly will be contributed out of the county in aid of the visited and poor people.

On the 4th December the mayor, in a letter to Mr Skeffington of Skeffington (the right hand upper corner of which, like that of the preceding letter, is destroyed), again refers to the great number of infected and poor people who have to be relieved, except the three persons whose houses were visited and were able to maintain themselves, viz., Mr Nix, Mr John Freeke, and one Robert Taylor. The mayor proceeds:

"And for this tenne weeks past the towne hath bene charged with sixe pounds a week at the leaste out of their purces, besides the charge of xxⁱⁱ watchmen, daye and night, contynuallye sithence Michaellmas last, which hath bene payde by the better sorte of the towne. Nowe dyvers of the inferyor sorte (which were wont to lyve well) growe so poore for want of trafique, that they have more nede to be relyved than to take anything from them, which greatly greeveth me to see. I wold to God your worship knewe the great trouble I have with those that be vizited, and the gryeffe to see the nombre in such myserye for want of relief, which non can [so] well judge on as they that see itt. And for our markett it is verye nedeful to be helde, if it were but for provizion of our towne, so long as by our good government we do avoyde all daunger."

After urging his humble request that the certainty of this £16 weekly may be performed, the mayor, after expressing a hope that the Almighty will shortly remove the plague from them, so that they shall not have to trouble his worship again,

takes his leave, by committing him to the care of the Most High.

In the foregoing, and also in other letters, reference is made to the twenty watchmen employed to guard the "visited houses" day and night continually; and we next have a paper containing the charge to the constable at the head of the watch, showing how the ten men for the night watch were disposed of, the places mentioned being those where the plague was most prevalent. After giving these particulars, the charge continues:

"And in the mornynge you shall sett other v oute of the same wards to watche in the places aforesaid all daye; your night watch not to departe before your daye watche do come. You must give them strict charge for to kepe the watche trulye, and you must kepe this order for thes vij dayes, viz., untill Mondaye next, and then Mr Tatam's constable must do the lyke, and so all the rest as they shall be appoynted.

By MR MAYOR and his brethren,
R. HEYRICKE, Mayor."

In a letter addressed by the mayor on the 19th October to the high sheriff (Thomas Cave, Esq.), after referring to his former letter respecting the distressed estate of the town, and the furtherance of the weekly collection for the relief of the visited people, he complains that the collection from the county has since come in so coldly, that being so small, it, together with the weekly collection in the town, nothing like defrays the charges, so that the corporation has fallen into great debt, and likely to do more so, as the visited daily increase. He proceeds to inform the high sheriff that if some better and speedier contribution be not made, he will be forced to move the lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council for their warrant to the gentlemen of the county to that effect, or else to set the poor at liberty for their better maintenance, with more to the same purpose.

This threat of appealing to the Lords of the Privy Council it appears was carried out, as is shown by the following entry in the chamberlains' account:

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"Item given to one that did labor to the counsell (a counsellor) to procure the counsell's letters to the justices of the countye of Leycester, for the continuyng of the contribucon for the vizited and poore people in this towne of Leycester, and to have some of the xv^{em} abated for his paynes, . xx^s "

We know not whether this appeal was successful, but the Earl of Huntingdon evidently exerted himself in promoting the collection in the county, for on the 7th December we find the mayor certifying two of the justices, Mr Turville and Mr Purefoy, of his having received from the hundred of Sparkenhoe the sum of 30s., part of the collection appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant to be made within the county towards the relief of the visited and poor of Leicester. The mayor describes the sickness as creeping still into new houses, and that thereby many of the inhabitants daily fall into poverty, so that for want of the contributions from the county, he had, upon his own bonds and credit borrowed money to supply their wants, and yet remains in debt for arrears as yet unpaid.

In a letter to the Earl of Huntingdon on the 13th of December, the mayor reports, that since he last wrote to his lordship on the condition of the town, the number of visited houses had greatly increased, yet he so keeps the poor people shut up in their houses (though to his great grief), that to his own knowledge not one goes into the country to beg, nor are any of them suffered to beg at any of the common inns within the town, whereby the gentlemen or other passengers that come to the same, may be put in fear. After some further remarks he concludes by complaining that although it was more than a month since the earl's letters to the county justices were delivered, not much more than £20 had come in, and that if it had not been for the great pains and care for them of good Sir Edward Hastings he thinks they would have had much less; he therefore begs his lordship, in consideration of the great need of the town, to move the justices to further compassion.

On the 6th January 1594, we have a letter from the mayor addressed "to the Right Worshipful Mr Francis Beaumont, Esquire, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Common Pleas," thanking his worship for his benevolence of 40s. towards the visited and poor of the town. Mr Beaumont was head of the ancient family at Grace Dieu and afterwards at Coleorton in this county, and was father of Sir John Beaumont, author of "Bosworth Field," and of the still more famous Francis Beaumont,

"That famous youth full soon removed
From earth, perhaps by Shakespeare's self approved,
Fletcher's associate, Jonson's friend beloved."

On the 27th February we have the draft of a long letter to the Earl of Huntingdon upon various matters of business, as to a lease of land, payment of some money of the earl's in London, through the hands of the mayor's brother, Sir William Herrick, etc., in which he complains that notwithstanding his lordship's last letters to the justices, "there hath been little done by them for the relief of the poor, . . . and yet our charge continueth great, and some houses lately infected towards the south end of the town, whereby I can hardly get the judges to sit at the castle, but am forced to lodge them at Mr Stanford's house, and to have them sit at the Town Hall." On this subject we find the mayor addressing a letter on the 3d March 1594 to one of them, Mr Justice Gawdie, afterwards Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, in which he states that since his being with the judge there was a house newly infected at the furthest part of the South Gate of the town, there being one only dead out of the same, and two others dead out of two houses heretofore infected—the one house being in a back lane, and the other in the way between Mr Stanford's house and the castle. "I rest doubtful," he continues, "how your lordship will like to sit at the castle; I have therefore considered of some other convenient place wherewith this bearer can sufficiently well inform your lordship. And thus humbly entreating your honour's directions and pleasure herein by this bearer, wherein present

provision and order should be forthwith had accordingly, with remembrance of my duty, I humbly take my leave."

The result of this correspondence between the mayor and the judge is seen in the following entry in the chamberlains' account for the year :

"Item, paid for the charges of makinge readye of All
Hallowes Church for the judges to hold the assyses
in, because the other parte of the town was then
infected with the sicknes, xv^s vj^d"

There only remains one other document to quote in reference to this visitation, namely, a very curious "Pass" or certificate of health, to enable a Leicester woman—coming from a town infected with the plague—to travel hence to her husband at a distance, and as this is probably unique of its kind, we give it *in extenso*. It is as follows:

"Villa Leic. These are to certifie all the Queenes Majesties officers and lovinge subjects, to whom theise presents shall come, that the bearer, Alice Stynton, the wief of John Stynton, of the towne of Leycester, pettye chapman, dothe dwell and inhabyte in the parish of St Nicholas, in the said town, in a streete called the Sore Laine, neyre unto the West Brigge.

"The which John Stynton hathe not bene in Leycester sythence one fortnytt after St James Daye last; but travelinge abroad in Northamptonshier about his lawfull affaires in gaytheringe under the Greate Seale of England, by lycence, for a poore house at Waltam Crosse.

"And this bearer, his wief, with hym all the said tyme, untill her nowe comyng hom to Leycester, which was aboute a weeke past. The which bearer her dwellyng ys not neyre unto places suspected of the plage, but ys cleyre and sound from the same, God be thancked, neyther ys there any att this present sicke thereof in the said streete or parish, God be praised. Do therefore request you to permytt and suffer her quietlye to travell to her husband, and also to permytt and suffer her said husband and her quietlye, upon ther honest behavire, to travell aboute ther lawfull busynes withoute any your hyndrance, and you the constables to helpe them to lodgings in ther said travell yf such nede shall require. In witnes whereof,

we the mayor and alderman of the saide towne of Leycester have hereunto subscribed our names, and sette the seale of office of the said mayor, this vjth daye of October 1593, A^o 35^o Eliz."

The street above mentioned as Soar Lane, near the West Bridge, is that long since known as Lower Red Cross Street.

There is one peculiar feature in the records of this visitation, namely, that instead of the parish register of St Martin's showing, as before, a greatly increased number of burials, there are, curiously enough, but very few entries about this period, far indeed below the usual average, although, as we have seen above, a considerable number of deaths took place there from the plague, the names of between thirty and forty being mentioned, while three burials only are entered in the register, instead of the usual average of thirty-two, and none of these three names are those of any of the persons named in the mayor's letter as being dead there, while in that of All Saints there are only seven burials recorded, and in that of St Nicholas only three (those of the other parishes do not go so far back); it is evident from these facts that the bodies of those who fell victims to the pestilence on this occasion must have been collected by the dead-carts, and buried in the open fields outside the town.

Prior to the Lent assizes, 1594, we find the corporation making the following order at a common hall on the 8th March:

"It is agreed that duringe the tyme of the assises there shall be a stronge watche kept, both night and daie, of sufficient men, and the comons as well as the xxiiijth and xlvijth to be taxed ageyne for and towards the charges of the vizited and poore people for the said tyme, and every alderman to be aiding and assistinge."

And on the 9th November following, the corporation "agreed that every freeman using his trade elsewhere, and doth not return home nightly to his house in Leicester, shall pay weekly double in every payment to all charges, watch and ward, etc.; and if they do not return home and continue in the town as an inhabitant ought, before the Conception of

our Lady next, they shall pay for every week they so continue out afterwards 40s. a week, to the use of the visited and poor people."

After a respite of ten years we find the plague re-appearing in Leicester in the summer of 1603, a few months after the accession of James I., and it was at its height in London at his coronation on St James's Day, July 25th. It had been arranged that the Queen, Prince Henry, and the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards the ill-fated Queen of Bohemia, should pass through Leicester on their way from Scotland to London.

At that time the town was in a healthy state, for in a letter to the mayor, dated the 18th June 1603, we find Thomas Conway, gentleman-usher, writing: "Your letters have been perused by my Lord of Shrewsbury, touching the clearness of your town from infection, and his lordship is very well satisfied with your certificate." He then proceeds to inform the mayor that her Majesty purposeth, God willing, to be at Leicester on the following Thursday, the 23d June, and concludes by putting him in mind that all things should be provided for lodging her Majesty's train.

Great preparations were made for receiving and entertaining the royal visitors, who came from the Earl of Huntingdon's castle of Ashby-de-la-Zouch on the appointed day, and departed on the following day to Dingley, the seat of Sir Thomas Griffin.

The pestilence must have broken out almost immediately afterwards, for under date of July 4th, 1603, the following resolution is recorded in the hall book:

"At a meeting of the xxiiijth itt is agreed to make a sessement towards the reliefe of the people commaunded to keepe ther howses uppon suspicon of the sickness, and towards the relieff of the persons in the town gaole, viz., the xxiiijth aldermen to pay iiij^d a peece a week, and the xlvijth to pay ij^d a peece weeklye, and the best commoners in everye ward j^d a peece a week; and the [same] to be weeklye collected by the alderman and constable of every warde, and to be paid by them to the maior everie ffrydaye next to the first

daye of payment, and the same to be presently collected, and they that refuze to paye to be commytted until they will paye."

Indeed it seems not improbable that the infection may have been introduced by one or more strangers (or "foreigners" as they were termed) among the crowds of people collected in the streets to witness the reception and the departure of the queen and her children, for we find a payment in the chamberlains' account of the year for turning "a man of Stamforde out of this town, for that the said towne of Stamford was then vizited with the sicknes." Payments were at the same time made "for watchmen set at the townes endes to looke that no vizited people should come into the town." We also meet with the first payment (of constant recurrence on future occasions) for hurdles, placed as a guard round "the vizited house;" there was further "paid for xv^e of coles for the vizited people, vij^s vj^d," doubtless for the purpose of making fires in the streets near the infected houses, a common practice at the period, from the belief that these fires purified the air; and lastly, there was "paid for a coffyn for Tom Turner's wief, and other things at her buriall, who died of the plague, x^s vj^d."

On this occasion it would seem that the pestilence was not of long duration, and made but slight ravages among the population, as the burials in St Martin's and also in All Saints' parishes were only about ten above the average, while we meet with no correspondence on the subject among the hall papers.

The next plague-year was 1607, in which, judging from the parish registers, the mortality would not appear to have been very great, but we nevertheless meet with a considerable number of payments relating to the plague made by the town chamberlains, and it would therefore seem probable that many who died of it were again buried in the open fields.

In this account we have a sheet of entries headed—

"Other payments and charges about the vizited people, as followeth, viz.:

"First paid to two women, about the xxiiij^d of September, which

weare appoynted to serche Henry Stanford's daughter, who departed at Mr Nixes housse, wheyther it weare the sicknes or not, xij^d."

It will be remembered that the house of Mr Nixe, one of the aldermen, was "visited" on a former occasion. His sad fall into absolute poverty through his losses will be noticed hereafter. After payments to men "for watching the vizited howsses," we have a charge "for setting crosses on the dores of the vizited howsses." These crosses were doubtless chalked upon the doors, accompanied by the piteous words, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" a custom so graphically described by Defoe, and also illustrated by Machyn's "Diary" and Thoms' "Anecdotes and Traditions;" and Mr Thoms suggests "whether the practice of marking a red cross upon the doors of infected houses might not have arisen from the injunction given to Moscs at the institution of the passover."

The following account of the practice is given in Collier's "Old Plays" (xi. 544):

"When a house became infected, the officers impowered for that purpose immediately placed a guard before it, which continued there night and day, to prevent any person going from thence until the expiration of forty days. At the same time *red crosses a foot long* were painted upon the doors and windows, with the words 'Lord, have mercy upon us!' in great letters written over them, to caution all passengers to avoid infected places."

Returning to the chamberlains' account for the year, after some payments for a nurse for the sick and for searching the dead, we have a sheet of entries of the expenses of a messenger sent on horseback by the corporation with letters "to one Mr Willyam Motte, a fizition at Bourn, in Lincolnshire, to request hym to come over to Leicester to the vizited people to helpe to cure them." The "fizition"—doubtless one of great repute in plague cases—was, however, at Uppingham, to which place the mayor's letter was forwarded, and a reply subsequently received from Mr Mott, but we do not learn whether his services were procured.

In the next account, commencing at Michaelmas 1607,

among other payments on the subject we have one "for the charges of keepinge of the vizited people in their houses, and for their keepers, and for provizion for them, and other charges, as doth appeyre by a booke of the particuler charges, viij^{li} iij^s vj^d ob."

And among the year's receipts we have :

"Item, received of the xxiiij^{li}, xlvij^{li}, and commons, towards the charges of the vizited people in Leicester, the some of iij^{li} viij^s ix^d"

In the following year the pestilence again made its appearance, there being a charge "for xxx hurdells used att the vizited houses," and there was one of iij^s iiij^d "paid to Michaell Tyars to keepe him, beinge sick, att which tyme it was feared to be the plague, but was not." During this visitation the mayor, Mr James Andrew (as had been done by Mr Robert Heyricke), disbursed money of his own to meet many of the charges, which was afterwards refunded to him out "of the overplus of the ffifteen monye," as appears by the account for the year 1609-10. At that time also the plague must have prevailed to some considerable extent, for payments were made for a large number of hurdles and stakes "to hurdell in the howses vizited with the sicknes called the plague in Leicester."

From one of the entries the pestilence appears to have first broken out in "Sore Lane" (Lower Red Cross Street), which, as well as the whole parish of St Nicholas on a former visitation, as shown by the "Pass" before quoted, was wholly free from it, thus illustrating the apparently erratic course of the epidemic, as noticed by various writers upon it.

With the next account we enter upon the record of what has been truly described as "The Great Plague of Leicester," when hundreds of the population were swept away by it from the time of its first outbreak in June 1610, almost up to the same period in 1611.

The earliest entries which we meet with show the corporation actively engaged in again seeking pecuniary aid from the

county, one of the town chamberlains having been "sent with letters from the town to the Earl of Huntingdon for contribution out of the county of Leicester for the relief of the visited people in the borough;" and with the same object the chamberlains and the town-clerk went to confer with the justices assembled in sessions at Wigston, and subsequently at Bosworth, after which the Earl of Huntingdon was a second time applied to.

The following appears to be the draft of the first letter to the earl, who was then residing at his castle of Ashby-de-la-Zouch:

"Righte Honorable, our humble duties remembred.—Maie it please your good lordshipp, that forasmuch as since the begynnyng of June last itt hath pleased Almightye God to vizite our poore town of Leicester with the heavie sicknes of the plague in manie houses, and without the Sowthegate, sithence which tyme the saide sickness is dyspearst into severall parts within the saide towne, to the greate charge and feare of the inhabitants there; the most of which vizited people have been verie poore, and not able to relieve themselves and famylies. And for that we have allreadie to our greate expences of monye undergone the burden and charges of sixe several taxacons and layers [levies] made amongst the inhabitants of best sort, for the wholl releif, watch, and warde of the said vizited people; and now findinge our selves unable to releive them, giv yng us just cause to flie from their further releife, we . . . humblie intreate your honors lettres to the justices of peace in the countie of Leicester next adjoyninge unto us that (according to the Act of Anno primo Jacobi Regis, in that case made and provided." [The rest is wanting.]

The Act here referred to was one entitled "An Act for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the plague" (1 Jac. 1, cap. xxxi.). It set forth that "forasmuch as the inhabitants of divers cities, boroughs, towns corporate, and of other parishes and places, being visited with the plague, are found unable to relieve the poorer sort of people so infected, who of necessity must be by some charitable course provided for, lest they should wander abroad and thereby infect others: and forasmuch as divers persons

infected, as well poor people, and unable to relieve themselves, that are carefully provided for, as others which of themselves are of ability, being commanded by the magistrate or officer of or within the place where the infection shall be, to keep their houses, or otherwise to separate themselves from company, for the avoiding of further infection, do notwithstanding very dangerously and disorderly misdemean themselves:" it was therefore enacted that the mayor, justices of the peace, or head officers of every city, etc., should have power and authority from time to time to tax and assess every inhabitant at such reasonable taxes and payments as they should think fit, for the relief of the infected, or inhabiting in houses and places so infected, and to levy such taxes by warrant under the hand and seal of the mayor and bailiffs and head officers aforesaid, or of two such justices of the peace, to be directed to any person or persons for the execution thereof; and if the person to whom the warrant was issued should not find any goods to levy upon, the mayor and others, as above, were authorised to issue their warrant for the persons so refusing to pay the tax to be arrested and committed to gaol without bail or mainprize, until the taxation and arrearages should be satisfied. And then came the section under which this application from the mayor and others to the lord-lieutenant and the county justices was made. It provided, that if the inhabitants of the town infected were not able to relieve the sick and others, that then, upon the certificate of the mayor, justices of the peace, or others, to the justices of the peace of the county, such county justices, or any two of them, might tax and assess the inhabitants of the county, within five miles of the place infected, at such reasonable weekly taxes and rates as they should think fit, to be levied by warrant, by sale of goods, and in default thereof by imprisonment of the body of the party so taxed, and the taxes so assessed were to be certified at the next quarter sessions. This statute of King James was repealed in the first year of the reign of her present Majesty.

We next find the following letter from the secretary of the Earl of Huntingdon, addressed "To the Right Worshipful Mr Maior of Leicester:"

"GOOD MR MAIOR,—It is my lord's pleasure that none of your towne of Leicester should reapeare to the ffayre of Asheby. And accordingly his lordship would intreat you that it may be made knowen unto them all that intend it, so farre as you canne learne.

"His lordship living heare is carefull for the preservation of his towne, and doeth not only deale soe with Leicester, but with all others infected. And soe taking my leave, I rest.—Asheby, this 26th of October 1610.—Your veary loveinge friend,

"JOHN BURROWES."

The fairs and markets in those days were places of considerable resort, at which goods of all sorts could be purchased, and were therefore of great importance to the inhabitants of the towns and their neighbours. A few days later the following letter was addressed to the Earl of Huntingdon on a similar subject:

"Right Honorable, our humble duties remembred.—May it please your good lordship, wee are given to understand by Sir Henry Hastings, of the Abbye of Leicester, Knight, that in regard of the sicknes now in Leicester, it is your honor's pleasure that the markytt holden theire shall from hencefourth be forbidden to be kepte; and that itt shoulde be soe made knowne to all the markytt townes in the countie of Leicester, which, if itt be soe, we humblie intreate your honor to call backe and forbid Sir Henrie to perform your commaund therein, ffor that, thanks be to God, as its well knowne to Sir Henrie, that our towne is not so much infected as gives just cause to forbid our markitt to be kepte, ffor, blessed be God, the wholl markitt-place is cleare from Mistris Pilkingtons house to the East Gate, and not one house infected nor suspected, and without the East Gate all Belgrave Gate on both sides, and Galtrie Gate, where the Angell standeth, theire ys onlie one house infected, and one other house suspected. Thus commending the premises to your honours good consideracon, we humblie take our leaves.—Leicester, this 4th of November 1610.

JOHN MABBES, Maior.

"To the Right Honorable the
Earl of Huntingdon, be theise, etc."

To which letter we have the following reply from the earl, dated the 6th November, but which did not reach its destination until the 10th of the month :

"After my harty commendations to you, Mr Maior, and the rest. At my departure not long since out of the county, hearinge, which I was veary sorry for, that the sicknes was dangerously dispersed in your towne, and that the contagion was veary great and dangerous, I could doe noe lesse (out of the care I had of your towne and the countries good, but give direction that, things standing as I was informed they did) than forbid the country to repaire unto you, knoweing well that a stander bye seeth more than he that playeth, and that your owne particular and private gaynes might make you insenseable of soe great and imminent a daunger, which no better remedy or meanes could be used, next to the divine Providence, than to detain people from assemblinge together, which like dry fewell addeth to the extreamey of soe pestelent a disease.

"Seeing it is a parte of wise men to change their resolution according to the circumstances of time and place, though I cannot be rebuked in the nomber of those, have I written my letters unto my cosen, Sir Henry Hastings, that in this present space soe great an alteration there be in the better part, so upon the knowledge thereof there be no barre unto you to prosecute your former courses, but if thinges ether be or grow worse than when you despatched this conveye, to doe as his judgment shall best direct him, on whome I repose such confidence as not to be carried by any humer or affection, but gravely wayeing what shalbe the fittest courses to be taken in so dangerous and unexperienced cases. And soe leaving my answer for him to give you, I committe you to the protection of God.—London, this 6th of November 1610.—Your very loveing frend,

"HUNTINGDON."

"To my loveing frendes the Mayor and Aldermen of Leicester, give these."

It is clear that the corporation gained their point, as we have next a copy of "The Proclamation made att the flayer holden the viijth of December 1610." It provided that the fair for all kinds of merchandise instead of being held as heretofore, with that for beasts and horses, between St Sunday's (the north) Bridge and the further end of the South Gate, it

should now be held in the Saturday Market, for the good of the whole country and for all comers to the said fair.

We next meet with the following letter, indicative of the dread and anxiety created in any household in which any person from an infected place might chance to enter:

"MR MAIOR,—My care and grieve for my family is suche that I am bold to be once again trobilsom to you to intreate you to signifie to me the truth of Shipman his estate of bodie, whether he had the plague soare upon him when he lay at my house, yf you have yet found him or heard of him; yf not, I am perswaded that my neece Elizabeth Joanes, Mrs Pilkington her servant, yf she be thorowlie examyned, can and will declare the truth therein. Yf you have not as yet heard of him you will be pleased when you doe know the true estate of his bodie to send a messenger over to me and I will well content him for his paynes, and rest very thankfull to you for the same.

"Thus beseachinge Thalmightie to stretche oute his mightie armes in mercy over your towne, and all other places infected, I remembering my hartie commandacons to you, do leave you to the same Almightie, this 30th day of October 1610.—Your loving friend,

"Maxtocke Castle.

THO. DILKE."

Unfortunately the former letter here referred to has not been preserved, nor do we find any further particulars on the subject. The writer, Sir Thomas Dilke, Knight, was an ancestor of the present Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart., M.P. for Chelsea, and of Mr Dilke, the present owner of Maxtocke Castle, and was the eldest son of Richard Dilke, Esq. of Kirkby Mallory, in this county. He purchased Maxtocke Castle about the end of the sixteenth century, and was soon afterwards knighted.

We have seen that in 1593, owing to the prevalence of the plague in that part of Leicester, instead of the assizes being held as usual at the castle, the judges sat in All Hallows' (or All Saints') church, near the north gate of the town; so during this visitation the assizes were held at Hinckley.

The plague having broken out in Leicester about a month before the summer assizes of 1610, we have an entry of a pay-

ment of 5s. 6d. for the charges and horse hire of the town-clerk going to Nottingham to the judges there, "to certify them of the sicknes in Leicester then;" who in consequence fixed to hold the assizes at the town of Hinckley; and a few months later the town-clerk was despatched to the recorder, Sir Augustine Nicholls, "for his coming to the election of the new mayor on St Matthew's Day, who by reason of the sickness, called the plague, in Leicester then, would not come."

Again in the summer of the following year, the plague still continuing, we have several entries of payments on the subject of the assizes. On the 13th June 1611, wine, sugar, and cherries were presented to Mr Walter Hastings at London, "who went to the judges to move them to hold the assizes at Leicester, notwithstanding the sickness of the plague;" the town-clerk also went to Bosworth to the Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Grey, and the justices of peace, for their letters to the judges, to the same effect; and finally, the town-clerk went to the assizes at Oakham to the judges with these letters, "who could not alter the records from Hinckley."

The removal of the assizes to Hinckley caused great discontent among many of the inhabitants of Leicester, doubtless those chiefly who, like the innkeepers and tradesmen, derived considerable gain from the influx of strangers on those occasions; and we find a butcher, named John Wood (a somewhat noted character*), brought before the magistrates for stating that Sir Henry Hastings of the Abbey "was an enemy to the town of Leicester, that the assizes should not be holden at Leicester."

The mayor and his brethren took advantage of the assizes being held away from Leicester to get an order signed by the judges for an additional contribution of £20 a month "for the relief of the visited people."

After some documents on the subject of minor importance, we have (what was required by the Act of James I., quoted above) a formal certificate from the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough, to the justices of peace for the

* See my "Notices Illustrative of the Drama," pp. 101, 105, etc.

county of the money expended for the relief of those infected with the plague, and for providing a pest-house for their reception. It bore date the 31st March 1611, and set forth that, since May in the previous year, there had been nine several taxations of the townspeople "of best sort," which had produced £220; that the chamberlains had expended of their own money for these purposes about £30; that there were several levies made in September, October, and November, amounting to £56; the whole amount thus expended being £306, 2s. 2d., a sum doubtless equal to some £1500 of our money. This certificate also includes particulars of sixteen houses "now visited with the sickness called the plague, with their several situations," among them being the pest-house, near the Blackfriars; six houses near the West Gate, St Mary's Close; two houses in St Martin's Churchyard, one near St Nicholas' Church, one near the High Cross, the Hermitage House, at the end of the South Gate; one in the back lanes, and Mr Thomas Sacheverell's house, near the New (or Wigston's) Hospital, of which he was confrater.

Another certificate, similar in substance, was sent to the justices of the county on the 12th April 1611—the number of infected houses being then twenty—and in which the town authorities, under the statute, entreat that the necessary collections may be made in the several hundreds within five miles of the town, for the relief of the visited people. We then have the order of the county justices addressed to the constables of the various towns and villages, the names of which are given with the weekly sum at which each place is assessed, generally two shillings, which taxation, as we learn from a later certificate, produced the sum of £163, 15s. 6d.

Another certificate from the mayor, dated the 30th April 1611, in addition to the houses previously returned, gives the following in other localities, viz.: One in Gallowtree Gate, two in the Saturday Market, two in Red Cross Street, three in Millstone Lane, and one in Sanvey Gate, showing that nearly every part of the town was infected. The names of the occupiers are given in every case.

From drafts of several letters among the hall papers we glean some interesting particulars of the progress of the pestilence and the sanitary condition of the town during the months of May and June in that eventful year.

The first of these is the following one, addressed to the recorder, Sir Augustine Nicholls :

"SIR,—Our dewtifull commendacons always remembred, etc.—Whereas the sickness hath of late increased, and that indeed verie muche in the neither end of Belgrave Gate, onely beinge at the nether end, and outside of our towne, and, God be thanked, somewhat stayeth in the rest of the town, beinge of speciall use for the faires and marketts, and assizes and sessions ; now therefore so least somewhat in use for passengers from and towards London, whereby wee feare there is a greater report of the general daunger thorowe out the rest of the towne than, God be blessed, there is cause. Nowe, therefore, for true certificate in that behalfe, theis are to certefie you that, first for Belgrave Gate, there is no house infected above Mr Yates his house, from the middle part thereof upwards towards the town ; and for use and passage therein Humberston Gate, which lyeth next unto yt, is as convenient for all passengers as that.

"And for the rest of the town, especially that street towards the castle, where the judges use to lie, there is no sicknes at all, God be thanked.

"There is not at this tyme in all the streete which leadeth north and southe thorowe our town, which is above a mile longe (in which the judges do usuallie lie), any one house infected that openeth into the same streete. And thus muche wee humblie desire you, as you shall see cause, to certifie their lordships. . . . And, God willing, you shalbe further truelie certified from tyme to tyme of the state of our towne in that behalfe. And thus, with remembrance of our humble dewties to ther lordships, we humblie take our leave.—Leic., this 23 of Maye 1611, restinge

"Your assured loving frends."

Ten days later we have the following report, also addressed to the recorder :

"SIR,—Our heartie comendacons remembred, etc.—Theis are according to promise in our former lettres to certifie you [of] the

present state of our towne concerninge the sicknes, *videlicet*, in Belgrave Gate there is some increase, yet, God be prayesd, we think and assure ourselves in generall the same doeth rather decrease then otherwise, for that there died of the sicknes the last week xix, and this week but xj; and the wholl streete betweene the East Gate and the Hie Cross stands sound and cleare, and also the wholl streets about the judges lodginge, and from thence to the castle, stand free and cleyre, save onlie one howse towards the neither end of the streete, between theire lodginge and the castle, which is standing on the left hand as the judges ride thence to ye castle.

"And, thanks be to God, the north part of the town stands free and cleyre. And, since the beginning of the sicknes with us, there has not been any one inn visited, and not above foure victuallinge houses, and those of small resorte, so that there is with us sufficient entertaynement for the countrie that shalbe occasioned to the assises in such places as were never visited, and that wee trust without danger.

"And thus, with remembrance of our bounden dewties to our verie good lords, the judges, we humblie take our leaves, resting your worships most loving frends,

"JOHN MABBS, Maior,

"ROBERT HEYRICKE" (and three others).

"2^o Junij 1611."

We complete these letters on the state of the town with the following one, in which we have a striking illustration of the practice of closely shutting up and guarding any house to which was attached the slightest suspicion of its being infected with the plague—the wretched inmates of one house having been actually shut up for two whole months, "but no person sick there." This document is addressed :

"To the Right Worshippfull Sir Thomas Beaumont, Knight, Heighe Sheyriffe of His Heighnes Countee of Leicester.

"A true note or certificate from the maior, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Leicester of the present state of the said boroughe, and of the houses vizited with the sicknes called the plague, with theire severall situations, viz.: In Belgrave Gate, in the neyther end thereof, towards the Spittlehouse, are xxvj houses infected and suspected, and, God be praised, att this present there are not above iiij

persons sicke. In Galtrie Gate ij houses, j infected, and the other suspected, and but one person died theire. Between the Easte Gate and the Hie Crosse one house infected, viz., Mr Chamberlins. The wholl markitt place cleire, save onlie one house, viz., Paines, *which hath beene kept up theis two monethes past, but no person sicke there.* In Losebie Lane and the streete neire St Martins Church vj houses infected, and but one person sicke att this present. Between St Sondaies Bridge and the South Gate, which is a mile long, not anie house infected nor suspected. St Maries Close cleyre; Red Cross Street, one house infected, and St Nicholas cleyre. The Old Hospitall was cleyre untill about a weeke since one died there, but whether of the sicknes or not we cannot certainlie say, but suspected. And at this present there is not one person sicke, but of the old and ordinarie diseases, as amongst ympotent olde persons.

"And since the beginninge of the sicknes with us there hath not beene anie one inn vizited, and not above sixe victuallinge houses, and those of small resorte. And for the better testymonye of the truth in the premises, we, the maior and aldermen of the said borough of Leic., have hereunto subscribed our names, the xvijth daie of June, etc., etc., 1611."

The signatures of the mayor and five of the aldermen are appended to this certificate.

Turning from the hall papers to the accounts of the town chamberlains, we meet with curious particulars. We learn that a "pest-house" was erected by the corporation for the reception of those who were attacked on the first outbreak of the plague, and which was referred to in the certificate to the judges at the assizes at Hinckley. This pest-house was erected in what had been a garden in the parish of St Nicholas, adjoining what is now known as Bath Lane, but formerly as the Water Laggs, the tenant's interest being bought out by a payment to him of ten guineas; and about the same sum was paid to carpenters and others for pitch-boards, timber, and workmanship "in setting up of certen houses for the visited people in the said pest-house," which it would thus appear consisted of a number of detached wooden huts rather than a single building.

It is probable that in addition to this "pest-house" there

were other places at different ends of the town brought into use for the reception of plague-stricken patients, and that one of these was the "Spittal-house" in the Belgrave Road near the "Bishop's Water," and another the "Hermitage-house" adjoining the pound, at the south-west corner of what is now known as Infirmary Square. We also find that payments were made "for pitch-boards used at the old hospital [in the Newarke], when the sickness of the plague was suspected to be there," apparently for the same object as the pest-house.

Although providing these places for the reception of "the visited people" indicates some amelioration in the mode of treatment, we still find the same, and even more stringent precautions enforced, as in former years, to keep infected or suspected houses closely shut up and watched to prevent the occupants going out of them; while, in addition, chains were placed across the bridges, and the town gates were guarded, and thus all ingress and egress of the wretched people were effectually prevented.

Among the "charges about such persons as have this year been vizited with the sicknes called the plague, . . . besides divers taxations for theire reliefe," we have several payments for hurdles, stakes, and cord, "to sett at the dores of the vizited howses, to be known from other houses in y^e town." To such extremities did the corporation proceed on this occasion, as actually to arm the watchmen with cross-bows and bolts, for we find a payment "*for boults for the watchmen to shewte att the vizited people, such persons as would not be kept in theire howses!*"

Extraordinary as it may seem, the authorities were legally justified in so doing, for the Act of Parliament before quoted provided that any person infected, or dwelling in an infected house, who should attempt to go abroad, and should resist the keepers or watchmen appointed to see them kept in, it should "be lawful for such watchmen with violence to enforce them to keep their houses; and if any hurt come by such enforcement to such disobedient persons, that then the said keepers, watchmen, and any other their assistants, shall not

be impeached therefore." The Act further provided that any infected person having any infectious sore upon him who should contemptuously go abroad, should "be taken, deemed and adjudged as a felon, *and to suffer the pains of death.*" The mortality during this visitation was fearful, far beyond that of any former or later one, except perhaps the terrible plague of 1349.

Although it is not improbable that some of those who fell victims to the pestilence were still buried in the fields, the greater number were for the first time interred in the churchyards in the town, and the registers of the various parishes, some of which have a distinctive mark against the names of those who died of the "pest," will enable us to judge to some extent on this point. The limited space at our disposal, however, will not permit us to enter upon this point in detail; suffice it to say that a note in All Saints' register for 1611 records that "this year there was a great plague, so that there died above 600 in the town," and that our local historian Throsby, who was for many years the parish clerk, in his "History of Leicester," has abstracted from the register of St Martin's all the entries relating to the plague, the mortality there being very great, and whole families having been swept away by it.

As before remarked, it seems probable that *all* the victims of this visitation were not buried in the churchyards; and Throsby records that in making the canal through St Margaret's Cow Pasture, near the church, a number of skeletons were discovered near each other, in separate graves, at the usual depth (but not in the order they are laid in churchyards), which he believed to be the remains of those who fell victims to the plague in this neighbourhood, either in a pest-house or in houses adjacent to the spot.

However this might be, it was at least fortunate for one individual (his life being probably saved by it), that now for the first time regular entries were made in the parish registers of the burials of most, if not all, of those who died of the plague, as is shown by the following correspondence between Sir Humphrey Orme and the mayor:

"MR MAIOR,—There hath beene of late brought before me here in Peterborow, one Humphrey Dawes, sometye of St Nicholas parish, in your towne of Leicester, a sivemaker, for being married to a second wyfe, his first beinge living; *and because the mans lyfe is like to be endangered*, if it should appeare his other wyfe to be alive; my request unto you is, that you would send me a certificate under your hand and seale, whether his wyfe be livinge or dead, and the tyme of her death; wherein you shall doe a good worke for the furtherance of justice, and give us a good light in our proceedings, and thus being ready to performe the like office at any time at your request, I rest.—Peterborow, this 13th of April 1612.—Your lovinge frende,

HUMF^r. ORME."

In reply to which the mayor wrote formally, certifying that "upon the xiiijth daie of August last past, Agnes, the wife of the said Humfrey Dawes, died in the said parish of St Nicholas of the sicknes called the plague, and was there buried, as by the register of the said parish dothe appeyre."

An extraordinary trial had taken place here at the Lent assizes of that year, seeing that the daring and unheard-of robbery took place during the ravages of the plague, when one William Haynes was tried for having opened four graves in the night-time, and stolen the winding-sheets from the dead bodies. This curious case, which is fully reported in Staveley's "History of Churches" (p. 273), was referred to the whole of the judges of Serjeants' Inn to decide in whom the property of the winding-sheets was vested.

Just before these assizes we have a letter dated 10th March 161 $\frac{1}{2}$ from the mayor and others to the recorder, stating that, understanding that "the judges this circuit are determined to remove their lodgings to Mr Wadland's house, late Sir Thomas Beaumont's, in the Newarke of Leicester, a thing much desired to the contrary by our innkeepers, victuallers, and tradesmen, in respect of their great losses recently sustained" by the plague, the recorder is urged to move the judges to continue their former lodgings, etc.

While the plague during the preceding two years had thus been raging in the chief town of the county, the inhabitants

of neighbouring towns were naturally occupied in taking precautions to prevent the infection reaching them; and among the hall papers for 1611 we have several letters from the authorities of those places on the subject, which, however, can only be noticed very briefly.

The first is a long letter bearing the signatures of Thomas Shakespeare and other chief inhabitants of Lutterworth, which is printed at length, together with a facsimile of Thomas Shakespeare's signature (very much like the poet's) in the writer's "Notices Illustrative of the Drama, etc., at Leicester."* It states that on the previous Saturday night a young fellow and two or three women came thither from Leicester, and on Sunday night the fellow sickened of the plague, which rose in his groin, and which being discerned by the people of the house where he lay, they put him forth, whence he departed to return home, but fell down and died in the fields, whereupon without the especial mercy of God, they are put in great danger by infected persons being thus improvidently allowed to wander abroad to the hurt of their neighbours; and it adds, that while the visitation lasts they have resolved entirely to exclude all persons from Leicester who do not bring with them a certificate from the mayor of their safety. We next find the bailiff and others of Melton Mowbray writing on the 11th April 1611, to inform the mayor that they had determined to restrain all persons from coming to their markets from Leicester and other infected towns, who did not bring with them a similar certificate of health. In this respect the constables and other authorities of Market Harborough appear to have acted with unusual rigour in preventing any persons from Leicester attending their markets and fairs, for we have the draft of a long letter from the mayor and one of the aldermen, addressed to four chief inhabitants of Harborough, bitterly complaining "that we are of no better credit with you that a certificate from the mayor and aldermen of the borough of Leicester cannot satisfy you unless Mr Doctor Chippendale" (a county magistrate residing in the

* J. Russel Smith, London, 1865.

Newarke of Leicester) "subscribe to the same, as though his insight into the state of Leicester for the sickness of the plague is clearer than ours, which are daily over them, and he never. We are persuaded that it would satisfy the greatest man in our shire, and we ourselves have accepted of this certificate from other places." After a good deal more to the same effect, they threaten an action at law if the use of the markets be still refused, and that legal proceedings will be also taken "against the constable for his hard measure already passed towards our townsmen."

After this fearful visitation Leicester appears to have enjoyed an immunity from the plague during the next thirteen or fourteen years, for we find that the pest-house near the West Bridge was let as a dwelling, as appears by several entries in the town accounts.

It would seem, however, from the account for 1614-15, that the corporation were not without considerable apprehension of an outbreak of the pestilence from the prisoners in the county gaol, for we find from several entries of charges that two dead bodies of persons who had died ("being suspected of an infectious disease") a few days after coming out of the county gaol, were searched; that letters were carried from the Mayor of Leicester and the county justices to the Lord Chief-Justice of England "for the removal of the county gaol for fear of infection," and later on similar letters were sent "to the Lord Cooke [Coke] concerning the removal of the gaol for this county, whereupon the said gaol was removed to his old place again."

The precautions taken by the authorities on this occasion were effectual in preventing the spread of infection, and it was not until 1623 that the plague again made its appearance in the town, which it then did in a virulent form, for during the three following years we find many entries in the accounts relating to it, and a large expenditure of money.

In this instance the plague appears to have been brought into Leicester by some infected person from another town where the disease prevailed, notwithstanding that every pre-

caution was enforced to prevent the entrance of strangers, for payments were made for guards at all the town gates, "watching, according to the council's letters, for the staying of suspected persons."

On the plague again breaking out, the Act of 1 James I. already quoted, and which empowered the local authorities to appoint searchers, watchmen, buriers, etc., and to administer to them oaths for the performance of their several offices, again was put into active operation.

About this time the plague was very prevalent in London, and in the account for 1625 there are two sheets of payments, extending from the 9th July to the 24th September, headed "Charges for watching to keep Londoners out of the town in the time of the plague;" the watchmen being paid four shilings each per week, and through them there was "relief given to poor travellers."

About this time several orders were made by the corporation respecting the weekly fast, etc., and we read that

"At a meeting of Mr Maior, Mr Recorder, and the xxiiij, the xxvth of July, it is agreed that the Wednesday exercise of fasting, praying, and preaching, be held at every severall parish church within this borough, and that no bell shall be rung for sermon at any church in regard of the heat of the wether and the daunger of the tyme. Item, it is agreed that the pest-houses shalbe cleared of the tenants that be in the houses presently, and they to be repayred and made fit for present use by the chamberlains. Item, it is agreed that noe inhabitant within this borough of Leicester shall intertayne or lodge any persone or persones whatsoever cominge from London, or any other place infected with the plague, without the consent of Mr Maior or the alderman of the warde, neither shall receave or send for any wares from London or other place infected, without the like consent; and that this order shall be publicly proclaimed through the town, and continued untill other order be taken therein. Mem.—That divers disobedient persones which received wares from London were bound over with sureties to the next sessions, and to be of good behavioure in the meanetyme."

Among a number of entries in this year's account in con-

nection with the subject, we find there was "given to Mr John Lea, for viewinge a woman at the Crosse Keies, suspected to die of the plague, ij^s," equivalent to a *post-mortem* examination in the present day, Mr Lee being doubtless a local "chirurgion." He appears to have caught the infection and to have fallen a victim to it, for the same account contains a payment "for horse hire for Mr Bolyvant [town-clerk] when he went to Kettleby Hall to certifie Mr Maior about the death of John Lee, suspected for the sicknes."

Owing probably to the adoption by the corporation of the precautions before mentioned, the pestilence appears for some time to have been confined within comparatively narrow limits, but the next account, beginning at Michaelmas 1625, from the great number of plague items which it contains, shows that during the heat of the summer and autumn the pestilence must have spread rapidly and carried off numerous victims.

The corporation began by levying a first tax upon themselves of £15, 15s. 4d., "for the relief of the visited people and for watching," etc. We have three sheets of "Charges for watchinge to keepe other visited people from us," amounting to £20, 2s. 3d.; and two sheets of "Charges in watching and money given to poore people to passe them throughe the town, begun the xix of September 1625 to Nov. 12th, total, xvj^{li} iiij^s ix^d." There is also a sheet of "Charges of the new pest-houses, with the taking of the ground and Chettles House."

Before the summer assizes, the town-clerk was sent to the judges at Coventry "to certifie [them] of the state of the town concerning the sicknesse."

In addition to many payments for watching and for the relief of the occupants of various infected houses, amounting to a considerable sum, there was "payed for the dayely reliefe of the visited people in the Soare Lane, at the North Gate, Red Crosse, and St Maries Close, xli^{li} iiij^s iiij^d." A payment was made "for killing of tenn dogs," a common practice in time of plague, to prevent the spread of infection.

We conclude these extracts with the following:

" Payed for searchinge of xliij th dead corpses,	. j ^{li}	iiij ^d
Item, payed for a spade to burie the visited people in		
St Maries Close,	. j ^s	ij ^d
Item, paid for a coffin for the same purpose,	. v ^s	"

This being the only coffin purchased at the town's expense, it was probably used merely for carrying the corpse either to the grave side or to the dead-cart when the body was removed, and then either thrown into the dead-pit, as seems most probable, or buried in a separate grave.

St Mary's Close was afterwards designated "The Freeman's Common," and was formerly an extensive open field before being allotted to the freemen as gardens, and was used in the last century as a race-course. During the visitations of the plague a pest-house probably stood here, as "St Maries Close" frequently occurs in the records in reference to places "infected with the sickness."

The precautions taken for watching the gates of the town during this visitation, and for preventing the introduction by the common carriers of wares from London, and the consequent risk of spreading infection, have already been alluded to. During the month of July 1625, we find recorded in the hall book some very stringent and elaborate orders made by the corporation for "watch and ward" by the constables of the various wards night and day, and that the members of the two companies of the corporation, each one in turn, beginning with the "auncientest," should personally have the oversight of the watch. Orders were also made that the common carriers to London should not carry any wares to or from London, nor convey any passengers until further notice; and the inhabitants of the borough were forbidden to receive any wares from London or other place whatsoever, during the time of the infection of the plague, without the consent of the mayor and justices, under a penalty of £10, or in default to be committed to prison until satisfaction be made.

Notwithstanding all these precautions the orders were evaded, for in the same month of July, William Stanley, mercer (and one of the "Eight-and-forty," as was also William

Turvil after mentioned), was bound over in £40, "ffor sending to London for wares in the tyme of the plague, and for disobeyinge Mr Maior his comandement, in bringing his wares into the suburbs of the towne, ffor which he is bound to his good behaviour."

And from a letter sent to the Mayor on the 7th September by the authorities of the town of Hinckley we learn that other tradesmen pursued a similar course, and with a fatal result in at least one instance. The letter sets forth that

"One Stoakes, a habberdasher of hatts, dwelling within your towne of Leic., hath . . . this weeke received a great fflaskett or hamper filled with hatts and other comodityes sent lately from London: which wee conceave to bee very dangerous, because wee have beene this day enformed by a messenger sent to us from a little village two miles distant from Daventree, in the countie of Northampton, that the carter or the carryer who brought the same from London is now sicke of the plague, and that the other man which came with the same carryer from London is shutt upp within the said cabbin or house. . . . Theise are allso to give you further notice that one William Turville, of your towne of Leic., mercer, hath lately received wares which likewise came from London by the same carryer, but the last said wares were brought downe about a fortnight before the other wares came. You maye in your discretions take consideration thereof for the better preservation of your safeties."

The letter then explains at length how the wares were not permitted to enter Hinckley, but were left at the village of Wykin, very remissly, until they were removed by Stoakes and delivered to Turvill. "Theise things wee thought good to certifye unto you, hoping that you will doe the like unto us if neede shall requier."

This letter is interesting as bearing after the signature of Sir John Oneby the autograph of Thomas Cliveland, "the reverend and learned" vicar of Hinckley, where was born his celebrated son, "the inimitable John Cliveland," the Royalist wit and poet, and who in his own day was esteemed a greater poet than Milton.

About a week later than the above letter from Hinckley

we have another from Sir John Oneby, who informs the mayor that the carrier who brought the wares from London was dead of the plague.

We next have a letter, dated June 1st, 1625, respecting a contagious sickness then existing at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, which bears the signatures of the vicar, the Rev. Arthur Hildersham (a writer of some note in his day), and of nine other inhabitants. It sets forth that there is just cause to fear that the rumour which is spread abroad in the country of a dangerous and contagious sickness that is said to be in the town of Ashby, and of the great numbers that have died of it, will keep many from the fairs and markets, and so not only prejudice and damage the poor town, but be also to the hurt and hindrance of the whole country. They therefore certify and testify that during the previous three months not more than fifteen persons had died in Ashby, and of these six did not die of this disease, said to be so contagious, and that the disease of which the other nine died, and of which three (and no more) lie sick, is no other, as we "learn by a learned doctor of physick whom we have advised withal about it, than a burning fever." In conclusion the mayor is requested to make these facts known publicly on the market day.

There seems but little doubt that the disease was really what was popularly known as the "plague," but this "learned doctor of physic," who was more enlightened than his age, gave it the name which modern medical science has assigned to it.

In the letters and certificates previously quoted, addressed by the Mayor of Leicester to the justices of the county for their "benevolence to this poor town," constant reference was made to the impoverished condition of the shopkeepers and others through the shutting up of infected houses and other restrictions; and that this was no mere figure of speech, but a stubborn fact, we have proof by what was doubtless one case only out of many, recorded in a document now to be noticed.

It will be remembered that on two occasions the house of Mr Thomas Nixe appeared on the list of those visited with

the pestilence. He was one of the twenty-four aldermen whose names appear in the charter of incorporation granted by Queen Elizabeth, and was mayor in 1596. He was by trade a fishmonger, and at the period at which we have now arrived, owing chiefly to his losses through the plague, he had fallen from his high estate as one of the magnates of the town to the pitiable condition described in the following petition, being (as he tells us in another paper) "of the age of fourscore years and four, or thereabouts, by course of nature not long to live in this world." It is addressed:

"To the Worshipful Mr Maior, the Aldermen, and all the Worshipfull Assembly for the Burrough of Leicester.

"Humbly sueth unto you all your poor suppliant Thomas Nixe, an old and ancient neighbour amongst you, who having receaved great losse and hinderance, as well by having his house two tymes visited by God His visitation, and many great payments for suertyship and other losses, were forced of necessity to pawne and sell his house and goodes, and now his necessitie is such that for his succour and relief he hath pawned and sold, as well the little goodes he hath left as his apparrell, whereby he is come unto such extreame need and discredit that he and his pore wief are almost famished. In tender consideracon whereof pleaseth you all for Jesus Christ His sake, to pittie our pore estate, being now old and comfortless, and in your Christian commiseracon to grant your pore suppliant such relieffe yearly during his lyfe as may be for his pore norishment and his wiffe, which, otherwise, are like to perish by extreame nede (from which God in His mercye defend us), and we your pore suppliants will dayly pray unto God in long and happy health to kepe you all. Amen."

The later document, signed "Your poor and distressed brother, Thomas Nixe, fishmonger," is a highly graphic and interesting one, evidently characteristic of the man, who appears to have borne his great troubles with a large amount of patient philosophy, but it is too long and our space too limited to produce it here. It is pleasing to find that the poor old man was not neglected by his former associates, for a special order was made that an annuity of £5 for life was

to be paid to him for his maintenance, but it was not to be an example for others to sue for the like thereafter.

Quitting this digression we pass another interval of five years to 1631, in the summer of which, although Leicester was fortunate enough to escape its ravages, the neighbouring town of Loughborough was visited by the plague, which carried off 135 of the inhabitants; in connection wherewith we have the following entry in the chamberlains' account for the year:

"Item, payed to the inhabitants of Loughborough by the appointment of a common hall towards their releife in the tyme of their visitation, x^{li}"

We have also two sheets of payments "to keep Loughborough people forth of the town," amounting to the then large sum of over £50; but the "watch and ward," and other precautionary measures adopted, were effectual; and it was not until after an interval of ten years, or in 1636, that we again meet with any references to the plague in our local records.

Although the account for that year contains only two plague entries, namely, a payment "for searching of a corps suspected," and another "for going to Sileby to enquire of the sickness there;" and although the parish registers show that the mortality this year was not above the average, we learn from a number of "orders" made by the corporation, that great apprehensions existed of an outbreak of the dreaded pestilence, that it did eventually show itself, and that it existed, in a modified degree, more or less, during the next few years.

By the first of these orders, made on the 15th August 1636, the common carriers to London were to be suppressed until further notice; no housekeeper was to receive any stranger without first acquainting the mayor or the alderman of his ward, although such party brought a certificate, unless they were known to come from places free from suspicion. And lastly, eight warders were appointed to guard daily from sunrise until nine o'clock at night, viz., St James's

Chapel, the Horse Fair, the Bear-hill Cross (now Haymarket), Gallowtree-gate End, the Spittal-house, the Cow Pasture Gate, St Sunday's Bridge, and the West Bridge; the expenses to be borne by a levy at the same rate as the levy for the poor.

On the 30th of the same month another order was made containing stringent and elaborate directions for carrying out the night watch, as well as the watch by day—one of the companies of the twenty-four and the forty-eight, in turn, beginning with the "auncientest," was to walk about all day, and oversee the watchmen; and a constable of each ward in turn was to oversee the night watch.

From a subsequent document we learn that "the first watch, both night and day, from the 2d October to the 23d December 1636," cost £18, 8s., and "the second watch from 12th April to the 30th December 1637," cost £23, 6s., to meet which two taxations or collections were made—these charges not passing through the chamberlains' accounts, and thus unfortunately we have no particulars of the payments on account of the "visited people." In 1639 this visitation was at its worst; the pest-houses were again brought into use, and there was "paid for the relief of the visited people and charges about them *more than was collected*, . . . £64, 19s.," probably equal to £300 or £400 in the present day; nor was this all, for, including upwards of £30 "laid out by Mr Chamberlain Peake for the building of the pest-house," this visitation entailed a charge on the town of over £153.

By an order made on the 1st November 1638, two members of the company of the "Eight-and-forty" were, in turn, every night to "look that the night watch be duly kept."

On the 1st December the mayor and justices issued a distress warrant against several ratepayers for non-payment of their taxes "for the relief of the visited people," two of these seven defaulters being members of the corporation—John Tatam and John Ludlam—who were taxed respectively at 4s. and 3s. 3d.

Among other proceedings before the justices at this period, we find that on the 24th of the same month an innkeeper,

one Daniel Morris, was charged with a misdemeanour in concealing that his house was infected with the plague, and in having given entertainment in it after he knew it was infected, and a warrant was issued for his apprehension. He was "suppressed from victualling," his sign ordered to be taken down, and he was bound, under bail, to appear at the ensuing Lent assizes to answer for his offence. From a subsequent document we learn that a death took place at his house on the 30th August, and which was apparently the first infected house on this occasion.

At this period we find the corporation most judiciously resolving (January 11, 1638^a) "that the order made for the cleansing of the streets shall be put in execution."

Sometime before the Lent assizes 1639, we have a very long letter from the recorder to the mayor, as to the judges holding the assizes at Leicester, a very brief abstract of which must suffice. Mr Chapman informs the mayor that both he and the judges had expected to have been certified before that time how the case stood with Leicester for the sickness; but this failing to be done, the judges have a jealousy that the case is worse than had been reported to them by the mayor's friends. Out of the love they had to the town, the judges had resolved to hold the assizes at Leicester, on being assured that they could come safely, and could draw the country thither without danger.

On the recorder's telling the judges that he conceived there was no danger to them or the country, they had agreed to "appoint the assizes to be held at Leicester, and when they came there, if they find things no worse than I have reported them to be, God willing, they will hold them there; and if things should alter, or they find them worse when they come thither, then they will adjourn the assizes from thence to Loughborough. They expect that I shall inform them every week how things go. . . . They tell me they hear you have an unruly woman in the town, who having a sore running of her, will not be kept in, but intrudeth herself into the company of her neighbours, whether they will or no, to the endangering

of many, which, if it be so, they would see an order taken with her when they come, if not before. I tell them I never heard of such, only told them what I had heard of them at the White Hart," probably the case of Morris above referred to, the proceedings taken in which, as related to the judges, he describes. He then adds that he had told the judges that he had heard no person had died of the disease, except out of one house, for five or six weeks. He ends by advising the corporation to keep the poor from begging, and to let them have work and maintenance during the assizes—and he takes his leave with best wishes for "the ceasing of that uncomfortable sickness."

We next come upon a document which was probably prepared, in consequence of the recorder's letter, for the information of the judges. It is headed, "A true particular of all the houses that have been infected within the burrough of Leicester since the first beginning of the sicknes ther, with the persons that have dyed therin, and the tyme of their deathes, untill the second of Ffebr. 1638-9, which was the last that dyed in the said burr. of that disease, praised be God." The result given at the foot of the return is, "Houses infected, 17; persons dead in all, 41"—the latter figures being a curious coincidence, as in the visitation of 1625 a payment was made for "searching of xlvth dead corpses"—precisely the same number—and which were buried in St Mary's Close. During this visitation the dead appear to have been again buried in the churchyards, but it is impossible to reconcile the foregoing return, if it included all the deaths from the plague, with the parish registers of burials, as (without entering into the details of the extracts made from them) the number of burials in St Martin's and St Margaret's parishes alone that year were 76 above the average, instead of the 41, as returned for the whole town.

In the summer of 1641 the plague was raging in several towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Leicester, and grants of money for the relief of the visited people "at Market Harborough, Birstall, Thurmaston, and Whetstone," were

made by the corporation; and "during the continuance of the sickness, that is to say for one whole year," at those places and at Oakham "a continued watch" was kept up at the entrances of this town to keep out infected persons.

On the 11th January 1642, a petition was sent from Whetstone to the corporation respecting the visited people there, which is interesting, as showing that upwards of two hundred years ago, as well as in recent times, the population of many of our country villages was dependent on the hosiery trade of Leicester for a living. The petition set forth that there were six visited houses in the town, besides certain others suspected and watched, to the number of one hundred and forty people, or thereabouts, who were knitters of hosiery, who depended for their work and weekly wages from the town of Leicester, of which they were now deprived, and that they would consequently sustain great want without the charitable benevolence of the corporation, for whose health and prosperity the petitioners pray God.

It was feared that the plague had broken out here at one time, and certain "suspected houses" were duly watched, but although surrounded on all sides by infected places, Leicester on this occasion seems to have wholly escaped; and also another visitation which occurred at Loughborough in the summer of 1647, when, by order of a common hall held here on Michaelmas Day, "it was agreed that x^{li} out of the town stock be sent to Loughborough for the releife of the visited people there;" and during the plague one watchman was employed on week days, and four on market days, "for watching and keeping out Loughborough people."

In the autumn of 1648 the plague again appears to have broken out in Leicester, as several entries in the records testify.

A corpse, "suspected to die of the sickness," was "viewed," and a house occupied by Widow Dawes, "suspected to be infected with the sickness called the plagge," was shut up, respecting which we find that, on the 25th November 1648, William Kirk of Leicester, butcher, he being one of the

searchers appointed under the Act, made oath before the mayor and two of the justices "that he doth verily believe that the child of Widow Dawes, which died yesterday, did die of the sickness called the plague," whereupon, following the usual practice, the house was at once shut up, and a watch set upon it during the ensuing six weeks. There are also entries illustrative of the subject which we pass over for want of space.

About this period the local authorities appear for the first time to have realised the force of the old adage, "prevention is better than cure," for they began to enforce a number of sanitary measures which one would have thought would have been in force long before. At a common hall on the 20th October 1648, regulations were made to appoint well reeves in every ward to see that the common wells (of which there were several celebrated ones) were kept in proper order and repair; and also to appoint surveyors of the bridges and highways, who were to carry out the renewed orders for paving and cleaning the streets. In the following month of November, orders were issued under the hand of the mayor, requiring every householder to cleanse the street in front of their premises every Saturday night before six o'clock, including the gutter, and to carry away all the filth so collected, etc., under a penalty of twelve pence, and the constables were to enforce these regulations under a penalty of five shillings.

Somewhat later this order was to be published by the town crier, the proclamation after the execution of the king ending with "God save the Nation."

After the town had once more been blessed with seven years of freedom from pestilence, we arrive at the time when the great plague of London was causing such consternation and dismay not only in the city itself and its suburbs, but throughout the length and breadth of the land; and we find the corporation of Leicester, like the authorities of other places, drawing a strict *cordon sanitaire* round the town, to prevent the introduction of the infection from without, and also making active preparations to check its ravages should the disease unfortunately appear in their midst.

This terrible visitation, after passing from the East to Holland in 1663, first broke out in London towards the end of the following year, and after some fluctuation towards the end of May 1665, the mortality began to be excessive, and the infection spread fearfully.

It was perhaps fortunate for Leicester that the mayor at that period, William Callis, was an apothecary, and consequently one who would be possessed of some amount of medical knowledge. The first precaution adopted was "a letter sent by post to stop James Lee from bringing goods to the town in the time of the great plague at London."

It will not be forgotten that, in a former instance, a carrier who surreptitiously brought goods from London to be introduced into Leicester, caught the plague and died on the road, while it was believed at the time that this terrible disease had been brought to Holland with some infected goods imported by the Dutch fleet from the Levant.

We then find that an additional piece of ground was procured at "the Water Laggs" (the site of the old pest-house), "taken to build hutts on in case of necessity any should fall sick of the plague." The sum of 8s. 8d. (probably owing to the risk of infection) was "paid to John Wilkinson for conveying a man to Belgrave, supposed to have the plague upon him."

At a common hall held on the 4th July 1665, and also three days later, we find the corporation re-enacting very stringent regulations as to watching the town, and as to other precautionary measures adopted during the visitation of 1625, and which we now have repeated among the hall papers. Several other orders were made as to keeping goods out of the town, turning the tenants out of the pest-houses at the Water Laggs, the erection of huts if found necessary, the "building" of double gates (or barricades) at open entrances into the town, and above all as to the constant "watch and ward" which was to be kept up night and day, to prevent persons coming from London or other infected places.

Mr Callis was succeeded in the mayoralty on St Matthew's

Day (21st September) 1665, by William Allsop, at which time, although a watch was still kept up to prevent the infection being brought into the town (probably from Melton Mowbray), the actual danger was over. Although, as before stated, several places in the county suffered at the period from this fearful visitation—that of “the Great Plague of London”—Leicester seems providentially to have wholly escaped; for although, unlike the other parishes, the mortality in St Martin’s was above the average, we do not meet with the notice of a single death from the plague, nor even of a single house having been infected by it.

Two more entries relating to the plague and we have done :

“Item, paid to the inhabitants of Melton Mowbray, by order of a common hall, towards their reliefe, in y^e time of the great vizitacon of the plague, x^{li}”

And finally :

“Item, paid to Thomas Darbye, for taking up the posts and railles at Barkby Lane end, and laying up the same, . . . viij^d”

Of the almost entire absence of sanitary arrangements in our old towns, Leicester may fairly be taken as the counterpart of similar places at the period, and from the by-laws and “orders” made from time to time by the local authorities, we are enabled to judge of the state of things previously existing. The streets were generally narrow and tortuous, the houses were almost invariably built of a framework of timber, filled in with plaster; while, in front, story projected over story, until, in many cases, the inhabitants might literally shake hands with their opposite neighbours out of their top-most windows. The rooms were low, dark, and badly ventilated, and the overhanging houses prevented a free circulation of air in the streets. The highways were either badly paved or not paved at all (in one instance it is incidentally mentioned that at the East Gate—the principal entrance into the town from the highroad between London and the north—the ruts were so deep as to be almost impassable), while there was an entire absence of proper drainage. Filth and garbage,

including dead animals, were thrown into the public streets; corn was winnowed there; and pigs roamed at large, turning up and feeding upon decaying vegetable and other refuse.

Every householder had the unenviable privilege of possessing his own dung-mixen, in many cases close to the front dwelling-house, while large public ones existed in the streets. A very large dung-heap, frequently mentioned in the records, and unmistakable traces of which are still met with during excavations on the site, occupied the north-east corner of the market-place. Another stood near the triangular piece of ground in the middle of Belgrave Gate (in which street the plague so frequently prevailed); the site was afterwards covered by several almshouses, known as "The Cock-Muck-Hill Houses," probably from their close proximity to that unsavoury institution of our forefathers.

With all these direct incentives to the propagation of epidemic disease, together with others which can only be hinted at—such as the very frequent, if not all but universal absence from the dwelling-houses of all decent conveniences—there can be no wonder that when the burning heats of summer and autumn penetrated the decomposing masses of animal and vegetable matter, hundreds of the population should be periodically swept away by the outbreak of a pestilence.

In a valuable paper on "Epidemics in the Middle Ages," read before the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, in 1849, my friend John Buck, Esq., M.R.C.S., then the highly-efficient and zealous medical officer of health for this borough, remarked: "All those great visitations which we have been considering—I mean the black-death, the sweating-sickness, and the plague—have very much in common with each other. We have seen how the most celebrated authority of his time, Sydenham, hesitated in giving to the great mortality of 1665 the name so universally accorded to it, viz., the plague; and I may add that by a very large proportion of the medical men of the present day even the cholera is, as I think very properly, considered a variety of what is generally understood by the generic title of fever." Of the epidemic of

1593-94 at Leicester, Mr Buck remarked: "This visitation I opine to have been a malignant fever of ordinary character but extraordinary violence, rather than the true Oriental plague, and probably existed with the same symptoms as the fever of the present day. This is also the opinion of Dr Laycock, of York, who paid much attention to historic medicine with regard to visitations of the plague in York in the seventeenth century."

Mr Buck observed that "in bygone times Leicester suffered from the recurrence of plague at almost regular intervals, . . . so that there appears to be a law of periodicity about these visitations which it would be most desirable to investigate." In a paper on "The Connection between Magnetic Phenomena and Epidemic Diseases," Dr Henry Kelsall holds that this periodicity in the recurrence of epidemic diseases was entirely owing to magnetic influences, and that "the cholera, no less than the so-called plague, passed from region to region, through every variety of climate, *along the lines of magnetic variation*." He gives some curious instances, illustrative of his subject, as showing why, during the prevalence of the cholera and the so-called plague, many deaths took place in the houses on one side of a street, while those on the opposite side escaped.

While we believe many medical men in the present day hold, with Dr Harrison, the doctrine of "non-contagion" as applicable to these diseases, the latest phase of medical belief on the subject is that designated the "Germ-Theory of Disease," or that these epidemics are propagated and diffused by living germs or atoms. It is a curious verification of the saying, "There is nothing new under the sun," to find this supposed modern discovery, the result of recent scientific investigation, already made and clearly stated in a ballad of two hundred years ago, entitled, "London's Plague from Holland," included in the Bagford Collection (part i., p. 38), recently issued by the Ballad Society.

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